

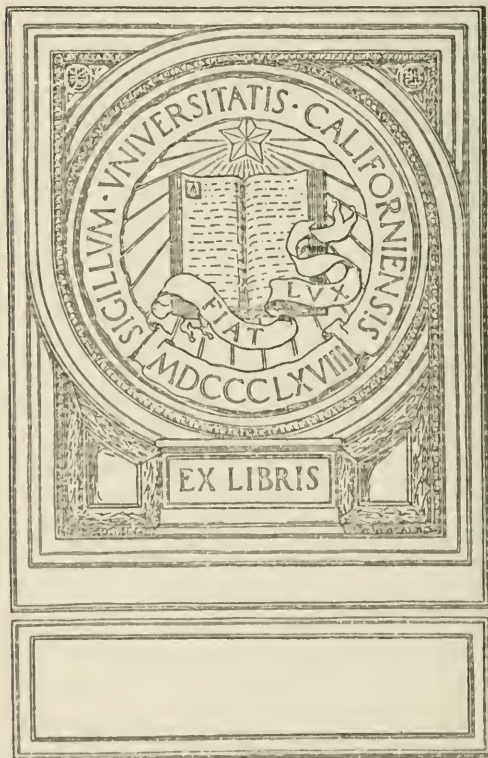
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A LETTER

TO

THE REV. T. R. MALTHUS, M.A. F.R.S.

BEING

AN ANSWER TO THE CRITICISM,

ON

Mr. Godwin's Work on Population,

WHICH WAS INSERTED IN THE LXXth NUMBER OF
THE EDINBURGH REVIEW:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CENSUSES OF GREAT,
BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY DAVID BOOTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1823.

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PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Letter was written and partly printed ten months ago, when the "Comparative Statement of the Population of Great Britain, in the years 1801, 1811 and 1821," appeared. I had previously procured, by the favour of different friends, Returns of Population and Ages of above half a million of the last Census, and on those I had drawn up some remarks; but I felt that I should not be doing justice to the subject, to content myself with partial statements, when I saw that the particulars of the whole Census were on the eve of publication. I had hopes, too, of receiving, ere now, the late Census of the United States; but in this I have been disappointed.

The whole force of the Review, and its avowed object, being directed against the reasonings in my

“Dissertation,” I have purposely avoided any discussion on the other and more general topics of Mr. Godwin’s book. That gentleman is not yet too old to wield a spear in his own defence, should he judge it necessary; and it is not for me, officiously, to become his champion.

D. B.

London, January 1,
1823.

A LETTER

TO

THE REV. T. R. MALTHUS, M.A. F.R.S.

REV. SIR,

IT is not merely because I have been told that you were the Edinburgh Reviewer of Mr. Godwin's work on Population, that I address this letter to you ; for you have certainly as good a right to reason on this question as any other man : and it would not have pleased me less although the virulence and ignorance which shine forth in that precious production had appeared under the sanction of your name. The criticism, whatever may be its effect, is given professedly to uphold your system. It does not appear in a petty publication. This glory of the North is said to have twelve thousand purchasers, and probably sixty thousand readers. To every one of these my name is repeatedly held up as that of an author whose " extraordinary want of general information " " leads him into gross errors,"

and whose "ignorance is unparalleled;" while, perhaps, not one in a hundred of these readers will ever hear of my reply. Such is the influence that has been exerted by a trembling antagonist; and such are the means employed to support your falling fame. The speaker is covered with a mask; but he is your declared Advocate—your official Defender; and, as you have expressed your approbation both of the matter and the manner of his philippic, it is but justice, even to him, to believe that they were both contained in his brief, and drawn up by you. Careless, then, whether you have defended yourself or hired a Champion, I will examine the Article as if it had been written from your dictation, and endeavour to refute the charge of "false reasoning" which has been brought against me in this petulant Review.

When, at the request of Mr. Godwin, I wrote that unfortunate Dissertation, (which, according to your Reviewer, has classed me among the meanest of the ephemeral insects that issue hourly from the public press,) it was never my intention that it should be deemed a refutation of all the errors of your work. Having in my youth acquired a smattering of arithmetic, I was persuaded, in an evil hour, to write a few remarks on your far-famed Ratios of Population and Subsistence. I thought myself modest in my pretensions. The first six pages of your long essay

on the principle of Population were the only ones of which I dared to speak ; and I simply endeavoured to demonstrate that there was nothing, in the progress of Population and in the means of subsistence, that had, respectively, the most distant connexion with the Geometrical and Arithmetical Ratios which were taught me when I was a boy. I did not think it necessary to bring more talents to the task than I possessed in those early years ; because it is, somewhere, said by a Roman poet (I forget the Latin) that we should never make use of more power than is adequate to our purpose.

I was vain enough to imagine that I had succeeded in my undertaking, when your Review appeared and dispelled all my dreams of conquest. You there say, that my labour has been “solemn and absurd trifling ;” that there may be Geometrical Progressions that are “not strictly regular ;” and then ask “if he had succeeded, of what possible consequence would it be to the general argument ?”

I confess that I was as little prepared for this astounding question, as for the reception of the novel idea of “irregular Geometrical Progressions ;” and I must agree with you, in your *New Light*, that these arrangements of figures can be of no possible consequence to the argument. I always considered this application of Ratios as extremely ridiculous ; but I was gulled into the belief that you laid great

stress upon their assistance. The comparison of Progressions appears at the beginning of every edition of your work, and, whether you have been deceived or deceiving, has had a material effect in the promulgation of your theories. I will not, however, quarrel with your conduct in this particular. The lawgivers of antiquity spoke from the sacred recesses of the temples, in order that their precepts might seem to have the sanction of the gods. The divine authority was merely pretended; but it does not therefore follow that the precepts themselves were erroneous: and, in addressing an ignorant multitude, it was deemed wise to bring superstition to the aid of truth. Imitating the example of those sages, you laid the foundation of your system on the oracular assemblage of numbers; but, having now finished the building, you seem willing to throw down the pillars on which it was raised, in the delusive confidence that your castle will remain suspended in the clouds.

Well—the Ratios are abandoned. The Geometrical one has become “*irregular*,” and the Arithmetical is forgotten. The necromantic lines,

Population 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256,

Subsistence 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,

will be left out of the future editions of your work; and the ignorant, among your disciples, will bespare the trouble of talking about what they do not un-

derstand. Your book will thus be freed from the imposing air of mathematical evidence, and will rest its merit on the extracts from missionary voyages and travels, with which it abounds:—upon the “general information” acquired from those authentic documents, which are indeed very amusing, though they can scarcely be called demonstration.

But, notwithstanding that you now consider the Ratios as unworthy of serious discussion, you still cling to the idea that there may be a doubling of mankind, from procreation only, in 12 or 15 years; and, in consequence, some remarks of mine, which tend to throw a doubt on this doubling’s having actually taken place in America, have called forth your severest animadversions. If I want faith in these miraculous duplications, it proceeds from that infirmity in my nature which makes me doubt every assertion which appears to be contradictory to experience, or utterly impossible. I have, otherwise, no peculiar prejudice on the subject, and care little about the effects of a procreative power which has, hitherto, allowed the greater part of the earth to remain a desert. The inherent power of procreation will, I imagine, be better understood by posterity; and I have no desire that our statute books should be further extended by laws, which can only be executed by generations that are yet unborn. But a species of contagion, till now unknown, has attacked

the minds of our modern economists. In their hypochondriacal imaginations, the many are doomed to remain for ever the property of the few ; and, like a herd of cattle, are to be increased or diminished as the interest or the whim of the *Capitalist* shall direct. According to them, when there is no *demand* for the labour of the man, he ceases to have a right to existence. The error of such reasoners is that of certain engineers who do not distinguish between *dead* and *living* powers. The latter will bend to circumstances, or exert themselves to overcome an unexpected resistance. Our economists count mind for nothing. They do not calculate on the innate energy of living beings, who may in a moment, by a stubborn resolve, set at nought all their calculations and give their feeble fabrics to the winds.

I am aware that these passing remarks must be disagreeable to you and your followers ; and, therefore, waiving the subject for the present, I will proceed to reply to the leading criticism in your Review. As this Letter, however, is not intended for your sole perusal, and as it may possibly fall into the hands of some who have not seen Mr. Godwin's work, you will excuse me for extracting so much from my Dissertation as may render my reply more generally intelligible :

“ When enumerations are taken every ten years,

it is obvious, exclusive of immigration, that, in any particular Census, the persons living above ten years of age must have all existed in the Census immediately preceding. In that of 1810, for instance, all above ten years formed part of the Population of 1800, and are in reality the same, except inasmuch as they are diminished by death. Those under ten have all been born in the interval between the Censuses.

“ Comparing the American Censuses on this principle, we shall find an astonishing extent of immigration. The white population of 1800 was 4,305,971. These in ten years would be diminished by a fourth. It is very improbable that more than 3,200,000 would have been alive in 1810; for, whatever proportion the births of that country may bear to the whole population, the proportion of deaths is certainly greater than in Europe. These 3,200,000, then, should have constituted the number of those above ten years of age, in the Census of 1810, had there been no importation from other countries. But the actual Census above ten years of age, was 3,845,389; giving a surplus of 645,389, which can be accounted for in no other way than by immigration. The Census of 1810 contains also 2,016,704 children under ten years. Part of these, too, as well as the deaths of immigrants since their arrival, should be added to

the 645,389 above stated ; and, therefore, of the 1,556,122 persons, which the Census of 1810 exhibits beyond that of 1800, it is as clear as sunshine that nearly one half was added by direct immigration. Of the effects on the increase of Population by the introduction of grown-up persons we have already spoken ; and, adverting to these effects, along with the statements now given, the additional Population is completely accounted for, without supposing a power of procreation beyond what is found to prevail among European nations."

You are pleased to observe, of the paragraphs here quoted, that they "contain the only argument which has any appearance of shaking, by an appeal to facts, the ratios of the natural increase of Population laid down by Mr. Malthus." Accustomed to view every thing through the haze of hypothesis, you are startled when any object is brought directly before your eyes. You feel as if the ground were sinking under your feet : and anxiously cling to the deceitful hope, that I must have mistaken the proportion of the dead. You well know that, should a fourth, or even a fifth of the people of America die within the space of ten years, your System of Population must inevitably be overthrown ; and it is therefore that you would move Heaven and Earth to keep them from their graves. But you labour in vain. The shafts of death are as nume-

rous and fly swifter in the new than in the old world. There, no regal palace invites his approach, but he does not, therefore, forget to knock at the door of the cottage.

By some occult method of calculation, which will probably remain for ever undiscovered, you have satisfied yourself, in contradiction to the fact, that more than four fifths of the persons in each of the Swedish Censuses, remained alive after ten years. I am convinced, on the contrary, that they must have lost about a fourth of their number during that period; but this difference between us would be of little value to the general argument, were it not for the strange consequences which you have drawn.

The seven Enumerations of Sweden, from which Dr. Price constructed his tables, show an average annual mortality of 1 in 34.6 of the whole Population. This proportion may be less, but cannot be more than the truth. In a Swedish Census there may be, and indeed always are, omissions in Registers of deaths, but there is no chance of additions. Neither sea-faring men, nor soldiers on foreign stations, are taken into account, and their proportion of deaths is universally high: besides, of the Censuses here alluded to, there were only three that included the whole kingdom, and these were taken in the most favourable years. From 1770 to 1773, when the mortality was extremely great, being 1 in 28, three provinces and Stockholm itself

(the most unhealthy of all) were wholly omitted. But let this pass; for I shall have no need to stickle for minute advantages*.

Your next step is to fix the proportion of annual mortality in America; and, after acknowledging that no two persons are agreed on the subject, you adopt the “estimate” of a Mr. Barton, whom you yourself convicted of having amused the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia with a blundering calculation about births and marriages which, to the disgrace of that learned body, was published in their Transactions †. Mr. Barton’s *estimate* is, that the annual mortality in America is, to the whole Population, as 1 to 45.

You have now got three things :

1. The proportion of the annual deaths
to the Population of Sweden—*nearly*
accurate 1 to 34.6
2. The proportion of the Swedish popu-
lation that die in ten years—*erroneous* 1 to 5.3
3. The proportion of the inhabitants
who die, annually, throughout Ame-
rica—*for which you have no evidence*
whatever 1 to 45

* Price’s Observations on Reversionary Payments, 7th ed. vol. ii. p. 406.

† See Godwin on Population, p. 419; Malthus on Population, 5th ed. vol. ii. p. 151; and Transactions of the American Phil. Soc. vol. iii. p. 25.

And from these you make the following calculation, for which you deserve a Diploma from the Philosophers of Philadelphia :

If $\frac{1}{34.6}$ give $\frac{1}{5.2}$, what will $\frac{1}{45}$ give ?

And this brings you fairly to the minutely accurate conclusion, that only $\frac{1}{6.878}$ (not quite a seventh part) of the persons in any given American Census would be found to have died in the course of the succeeding ten years ! This whimsical statement reminds me of the common School-puzzle: If 8 oxen plough an acre of land in 2 days, in what time would 7 asses perform the same quantity of work ? The first and the third terms of the question are not of the same kind. Independently of the difference of soil and climate in which they live, the ages of the individuals of a Swedish Census differ so widely from any of the Censuses hitherto taken in America, that the proportion of the annual Ratios of Mortality, between the two countries, is as difficult to discover *a priori* as that between the mortality of men compared with those of monkeys.

“Mr. Booth,” you say, “proceeding, we *suppose*, “upon the *supposition* that the Mortality in the “United States is 1 in 40, imagines that he shall “obtain the Mortality of the ten years in question “by multiplying the mortality of one year by ten ; “and so infers, that the Population of the first “Census would, in ten years, be diminished by

$\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$;" and, upon this gratuitous *supposition*, you proceed to comment upon my *supposed* ignorance. Had I risked my assertion upon such data, I must have been ignorant indeed, and should have deserved all the castigation which you, in your wisdom, have attempted to bestow ; but I built on a firmer foundation, and I have no objection to show you the ground on which I stood. In doing so, I will endeavour to make myself intelligible to common Readers : your calculations are only for the initiated.

In societies, the amount of whose population is stationary, in an average of years, the Born merely replace those who die. As many of the Children as remain alive from the Births, in any one year, constitute the number between 1 and 2 years of age in the next. The survivors of these form the enumeration between 2 and 3 in the succeeding year ; and, thus, in the progressive flow of generations, the several steps in the ladder of life always support the same number of human Beings, although the individuals on each continually ascend, and resign their place to their successors.

In my Dissertation† I gave a Table of the living at different ages, in Sweden, proportioned to a Population of 10,000, from the average of the years

1757, 1760, and 1763. These were three of the seven Censuses mentioned by Dr. Price, and the only ones that included the whole of the kingdom. This Table I will here repeat for the sake of clearer illustration.

Table of the Living at different ages in Sweden, averaged from the Censuses of 1757, 1760, and 1763; and proportioned to a population of 10,000.

Ages of the Living.	Average of the three Censuses.	Proportion to 10,000.
Annual Births.	88,032	370
Under 5 Years	334,899	1,408
5 to 10	255,965	1,076
10 — 15	241,521	1,015
15 — 20	204,297	859
20 — 25	195,371	821
25 — 30	187,134	785
30 — 35	176,309	741
35 — 40	150,066	631
40 — 45	132,180	556
45 — 50	110,505	464
50 — 55	98,395	414
55 — 60	84,646	356
60 — 65	74,643	314
65 — 70	52,357	220
70 — 75	40,106	169
75 — 80	23,230	98
80 — 85	11,569	49
85 — 90	4,303	18
above 90	1,566	6
Population	2,379,062	10,000

In reasoning from tables such as the preceding, the consequences will be different, according to the state of stability or fluctuation in the number of the people, at the period in which those tables are formed. The population may be either increasing, or stationary, or diminishing; and each of these cases would present a different result. In the instance before us, there is no presumption of a diminution; and, therefore, the question lies entirely between the stationary and the increase. Looking at the numbers in the censuses about this period, the Society appears to have been increasing; but you will, probably, agree with the reasonings of Dr. Price, “that this increase had not been of long continuance*.” To these reasonings I would only add that, notwithstanding the *apparent* increase (above 100,000) the births in 1754 and 1755 were more numerous than those of 1762 and 1763; and I conceive that I have sufficiently demonstrated, in my Dissertation, that “there may happen to be very extensive variations in the different censuses of a Society in the germ of which there is no principle of permanent increase†.” Nevertheless, to prevent all cavil, I will consider this expansion of human life in Sweden from both points of view; and first I will suppose it to represent a stationary state of population.

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, vol. ii. p. 107.

† Godwin on Population, page 273, &c.

On this ground, then, it appears from the table “ that 370 annual births are just sufficient to keep up a population of 10,000 persons. These 370 (or 1850 in 5 years) constitute a population of 1408, under 5 years of age, who are renewed by the births as they grow older, or die. These 1408 are reduced, by deaths, to 1076 between the ages of 5 and 10, who are again reduced to 1015, being the number living between 10 and 15. In the same manner, from the continual supply by births and reduction by deaths, the different numbers of every age, making up the whole population, are regularly kept up throughout the century, which, here, appears to be the limit of the age of man. In actual existence, these numbers will vary above or below the numbers of the table, which are here given as an average proportion of a Society of little or no increase.”

It is obvious that if there were no births, the 1408 who are under 5 would (by growing years and reduction in numbers) *exactly* fill the place of the 1076 who are now between 5 and 10; while every other number would be lifted forward a step in the scale, and the place of these 1408 would remain a blank. The next 5 years would leave an empty space for those between 5 and 10; and the Society would thus go on diminishing until the whole population of 10,000 were swept from existence. The following Table will illustrate the subject and show the law of diminution :

TABLE of a Population of 10,000, averaged from the Swedish Censuses, exhibiting their gradual Extinction by Death.

Ages.	Living.	After 5 yrs.	After 10 yrs.	After 15 yrs.	After 20 yrs.	After 25 yrs.	After 30 yrs.	After 35 yrs.	After 40 yrs.	After 45 yrs.	After 50 yrs.	After 55 yrs.	After 60 yrs.	After 65 yrs.	After 70 yrs.	After 75 yrs.	After 80 yrs.	After 85 yrs.	After 90 yrs.	After 100
Under 5	1408																			
5 to 10	1076																			
10 -- 15	1015	1015																		
15 -- 20	859	859	859																	
20 -- 25	821	821	821	821																
25 -- 30	785	785	785	785	785															
30 -- 35	741	741	741	741	741	741														
35 -- 40	631	631	631	631	631	631	631													
40 -- 45	556	556	556	556	556	556	556	556												
45 -- 50	464	464	464	464	464	464	464	464	464											
50 -- 55	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414	414										
55 -- 60	356	356	356	356	356	356	356	356	356	356	356									
60 -- 65	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314	314								
65 -- 70	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220							
70 -- 75	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169	169						
75 -- 80	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98					
80 -- 85	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49				
85 -- 90	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18			
above 90	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Amount	10,000	8592	7516	6501	5642	4821	4036	3295	2654	2108	1644	1230	874	560	340	171	73	24	6	0

It appears, from the foregoing Table, that, in 5 years, the Society will have lost, by death, 1408 of its members; and that, in 10 years, it will be reduced to 7516, (the sum of the 4th column,) or, as near as may be, to three fourths of the original 10,000: and, hence, what I proposed to show is sufficiently elucidated, viz. *That a Society of little or no increase, will lose about a fourth of its members, by death, in 10 years.* The loss, at every succeeding period, will appear from the sum at the bottom of each column respectively. The fact is, that, wherever the population is stationary, the number of deaths that will take place in *any given number of years* (taking no account of births) will be, at an average, exactly equal to the number of individuals that are now living under the age expressed by that number of years. For instance, if we want to know how many will die during the next 30 years, we have only to count the numbers that are alive at present under the age of thirty.

In the strict sense of the term no population can be *stationary*. A nation which would not double its numbers in a thousand years might, nevertheless, have extraordinary fluctuations in its intervening censuses. Under favourable circumstances, and in genial years, life may be prolonged and the number of births may be multiplied; for, if this were not the case, there are epidemic diseases that

no physician can cure, as well as wars and revolutions that no government can prevent, which, in the lapse of ages, would depopulate the earth. At the period of which we have been speaking, Sweden appears, from its enumerations, to have been increasing. Discarding the odd hundreds,

The population of 1763 was	. . .	2,446,000
of 1775	. . .	2,630,000

Being an increase in 12 years of	. . .	184,000
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Were we sufficiently acquainted with the statistics of that country, we might, perhaps, find other causes, such as change of boundaries, &c. to account for this additional number ; but, in the present instance, I will grant that it arose wholly from procreation. Calculating the series of human increase by the rules of compound interest (the Malthusian method!) the proportionate addition in ten years must have been 152,000 ; and, therefore, the population in 1773 had been 2,598,000, which, according to their ages, would stand thus :

Under 10 years	649,500
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Above 10 —	1,948,500
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And this latter number was all that remained alive of the 2,446,000, which constituted the census of 1763 ; making the deaths, in these ten years, to be 1 to 4.9, or very little more than one-fifth of the population.

You should be aware, however, that the apparently lessened mortality depends solely on the condition that this was a permanent increase ; for, if it were merely the consequence of more healthy years, it would be balanced by the additional deaths occurring in years of disease, or from other circumstances of national calamity. The increase here supposed would double the population in little more than a century ; but of such doublings we have no authentic record : and even your most ignorant disciples will scarcely contend that the whole population of Europe is eight times as great as it was three hundred years ago ; or that it is doubled since the age of Queen Anne. If we knew it to be so, we should have to lament that genius and learning have had so small a share of the advantages of the Geometrical Ratio.

You think it strange that Sweden should be chosen “as a specimen of the natural increase of population* ;” and a foreign Reviewer, who differs from you in every other particular, has candidly expressed the same idea†. The reason for appealing to Sweden is not difficult to discover. There is no other nation with which we are acquainted, that has published such minute reports of its popula-

* Edinburgh Review, page 372.

† *Le Courier Français*.

tion. The Swedish Tables were resorted to for the purpose of endeavouring to discover the law—not the amount—of increase. There was no occasion to thrust forward the slowness of the progression in that country; for in as far as a continued increase, *by procreation only*, is concerned, we have no where to look but to the back settlements of the United States. Your three volumes on Population were written, on purpose, to show why the Geometrical Ratio exists in no other corner of the globe. But our present business does not relate to the propagation of the race, but to the deaths of those who are propagated; and certainly, with respect to the health and longevity of its inhabitants, Sweden does not yield to any other portion of Europe.

Previously to the appearance of the Swedish censuses, which were first published in this country by Dr. Price, we had no account, from a real survey, of the different ages of a native population. Our Tables of Life-Annuities were calculated from such bills of mortality as gave the ages of the dead; and, had these been sufficiently extensive, they must have given the same results as an actual enumeration: for it appears to be a law of nature that all the born must die, and, if we cannot count the race while they are alive, we have only to attend to the Sexton when he digs their graves. The Actuaries of Insurance-offices are well aware of the scantiness of

the materials from which their Tables have been formed, and of the discrepancies that exist among them ; but, nevertheless, in almost all, there is a remarkable coincidence between the scale of life which they represent and that which has since been found to exist in a census. I speak here of country parishes, for with respect to large towns it is well known that nothing on the subject can be accurately ascertained. These are the common sewers and drains of life, and overflow or stagnate according as the streams descend from the hills.

By referring to the Tables above mentioned as they are separately given in the " Observations on Reversionary Payments," or in the lucid and comparative arrangement of Mr. Baily*, it will be found that, in the greater number, there is almost exactly a fourth of the population under the age of ten years. Among those Tables, that of the Parish of Holy-Cross, in the county of Salop, is repeatedly mentioned by Dr. Price, as " the most complete and accurate that ever was published†." The number of inhabitants was nearly stationary for more than twenty years ; and the slight variations that occurred were minutely traced to known emigrations and immigrations. In this parish, too, we have a census for every five years, distinguishing the

* Baily on the Doctrine of Life-Annuities, &c., page 522—527.

† Price on Rev. Pay., vol. ii. pages 34, 103—105, and 397—403.

sexes and, occasionally, the ages. The following are some of the results that are applicable to the present inquiry :

In 1760 the number of inhabitants was	1048
In 1770	1046
Of these there were under 10	<u>248</u>

Therefore, those that were alive of the census of 1760, being all above 10, were	<u>798</u>
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And the dead in these 10 years must have been 250
or 1 in 4.19 of the whole number.

AGAIN :

In 1770 the census was	1046
In 1780	1115
Of those there were under 10	<u>290</u>

Therefore there were alive of the census of 1770	<u>823</u>
---	------------

And there had died 223
or 1 in 4.69 of the whole.

This increase of 1780 (and, consequently, the apparently less proportion of deaths) is expressly stated to have been an influx from other parishes. The higher number of those below 10, being 1 in 3.8 of the whole, is (as will be shown hereafter) no unusual consequence of immigration.

The censuses of Great Britain in 1801 and 1811

are, on account of the want of ages, of little value in the present investigation. To procure an accurate enumeration of the inhabitants of a country, is a more difficult task than some closet speculators are apt to imagine. The first attempt, in particular, must be generally defective. Beside the dread of an impost or a conscription, the prejudices of ages tempt to the pious fraud of concealing the amount. The peasant reads in his Bible that it is a crime to number the people, and it is notorious that not a few were influenced by this belief. Solomon says that "there is nothing new under the sun." Were there, then, political economists, even in those days, to frighten the rich and indolent with the bugbear of a superabundant population of their slaves?

Having *heard* of these censuses, you hasten to inform the reader of your Review that, to the infinite danger of the capitalist, the labourers have now got into the way of doubling their number every 56 years*. Had you *seen* the official reports on the subject, you would have known that these enumerations were made in 1801 and 1811, and not in 1800 and 1810 as you state; and, further, you would have had the authority of Mr. Rickman himself, who drew up and edited these reports, that the population of 1801, was "taken too low†."

* Review, page 376.

† Observations on the Results of the Population Act, 11 Geo: III. pages 4 and 9.

This last point should have been settled before you ventured to calculate the rate of increase, from your Tables of compound interest.

You say, in the same page of your Review, "that in many country parishes of England, the number of births is nearly double the number of deaths." Now, according to Mr. Rickman's account above referred to, those Registers must be utterly worthless; and, had you looked at page xxvi of his "Preliminary Observations" to the "Abstract of Answers &c." for 1811, you would have seen that the increase in the preceding ten years, as calculated from those Registers, did not amount to above two thirds of what appeared in the actual returns.

The Census of last year, whatever mistakes may have been committed in the execution, was certainly rational in its principle. Notwithstanding the apparent addition of numbers, I am still sceptical as to the rapidity of increase in the population of the British Islands; but, had the evidence been clear to my mind, I should not have hesitated to have acknowledged it, for my object is the discovery of facts and not the support of any particular hypothesis. That mankind can increase in a geometrical ratio, I hold to be impossible; that they are capable of increase, and, at different times and places, have increased, I do not deny; but the utmost possible

rapidity of increase is, assuredly, not to be measured by theories:—it can only be known (if it ever can be known) from observation. Some remarks on our late Census will be attached to this letter; but the results, to whatever side they may tend, can be no subject of triumph to either party. They are extra-judicial in the dispute between us; not having been in existence, either when Mr. Godwin's book was published, or when you dictated your Review. For the present, then, I proceed with other documents.

Leaving Europe, you next endeavour to discover, *by means of your reasoning powers*, the proportion of deaths that would occur, in any given American population, in the course of ten years; and, in doing so, the train of investigation is so peculiarly your own, that I cannot forbear quoting it, for the benefit of those who may be yet unacquainted with the Malthusian Method.

“On the annual mortality of the population of the United States, writers have differed. Mr. Barton, in the Transactions of the Society at Philadelphia, has *stated* it to be 1 in 45; while Mr. Winter and others, *without referring to any documents of authority*, have *made* it as high as 1 in 40. *We should suppose, from the peculiar structure of the American population and the great excess of the births above the deaths*, that it was less than Mr. Barton's estimate, as, even upon his estimate, the expec-

tation of life would not be so high as in Sweden; which, considering the numbers which *must* die in the latter country, from the consequences of scarcity and bad food, is making a large allowance for the greater natural unhealthiness of America. It is *comfortable*, however, to get rid of these sweeping and conjectural estimates, by an appeal to recorded facts; and we find that the mortality of Philadelphia, according to bills published by the Board of Health for eight years, from 1807 to 1814 inclusive, was found to be no more than 1 in 43, as stated in the valuable work of Dr. Seybert. And if the mortality of the greatest towns in America be less than 1 in 40, we *should expect* that the mortality of the whole country would be less than 1 in 50; and this is the *conjecture* of Dr. Price*.”

This first step being thus *clearly* demonstrated, you draw the following consequence.

“If we had American tables, formed like those of Dr. Price for Sweden, *we should expect*, that, on account of *the peculiar structure of the American population*, arising from *the great excess of births above deaths*, it *would turn out*, that the proportion which a given population, without any fresh accession of births, would lose in ten years, instead of being rather more than $\frac{1}{7}$, would not be more than $\frac{1}{8}$; in which case, the amount of immigration annually would, by Mr. Booth’s own rule, be only between seven and eight thousand, instead of above sixteen thousand; and the period of doubling would come near to the *calculation* of Dr. Seybert†.”—“He (Dr. Seybert) *calculates*

* Review, pages 365, 366.

† Review, page 367.

that *no more* than 6000 *could* have arrived annually from 1790 to 1810*.”

The words “calculation” and “calculates,” here introduced, savour of another school; but to free you from the imputation of old-fashioned reasoning, I shall give the *calculations*, to which you refer, *verbatim*, as they were made by the learned Doctor.

“The free population could only be affected by the emigrants from Europe: *we will suppose* that 6000 of them arrived annually, from 1790 to 1810. In 1790 the free population of the United States amounted to 3,223,629 persons, and in 1810 it was 6,048,539; the actual increase, in the twenty years, was 2,824,910, from which deduct 120,000, *for the emigrants who arrived during that period*, and allow for their increase at the extraordinary rate of 5 per cent. per annum, or 60,000 for the twenty years, making the aggregate from the emigrant stock 180,000, which, when deducted from the total actual increase above mentioned, will leave 2,644,910 persons for the augmentation, independent of any aid from abroad; or the duplication of the free inhabitants, without the additions from the emigrants, would only require about four fifths of a year more than it did when they were added. The preceding view *satisfies us* that, during twenty years, our population has been immaterially augmented by the emigrants; and that, in this respect, we may consider ourselves independent of foreign nations†.”

* Review, page 369.

† Seybert's *Statistical Annals of the United States*, pages 29, 30.

In Cocker's Arithmetic, there is what is called the Rule of False, which proceeds entirely upon *suppositions*. Both you and Dr. Seybert have well studied this rule; but, being the close of Mr. Cocker's course, it seems to have been the boundary of your mathematical career. In your vocabulary, *to calculate* is not to pore until you are half blind over arithmetical figures, but, by a single figure of rhetoric, to make a bold assertion and trust to the credulity of your readers that you will be believed. This slap-dash (or what you would call "comfortable") way of arriving at a conclusion, is, I dare say, the consequence of that "general information" of which you so proudly boast. You reach, by a single bound, that height of learning, to which ordinary minds can arrive only by patient toil. In these venturous springs, however, it is possible that you may sometimes overleap your mark, and I suspect that you have done so in the instance before us. I have said that a fourth part of the persons included in the American Census of 1800 must have died before 1810; and you have *satisfied yourself* that there did not die above an eighth. I have attentively considered your shortly-stated evidence:—bear with the more lengthened manner in which I offer mine.

The foundation of all your reasoning (as already quoted) is that the mortality of Philadelphia, from

1807 to 1814, was only 1 in 43 of the population "as stated in the valuable work of Dr. Seybert," and from this you infer that the mortality of the whole country would be less than 1 in 50. Now I cannot conceive how the proportion of 1 in 43 of such a place as Philadelphia, has any thing to do with the loss, by death, which the members of any particular Census, would (without additions) sustain in a certain number of years. Should a country, containing 400,000 inhabitants, cease to have any further increase and consequently be allowed to be depopulated by the course of nature, and if in ten years this people should muster only 300,000, I might surely say that they had lost a fourth of their number. This fourth would not be exterminated by an equable annual reduction, for it would vary, from year to year, with the changing value of life. But if, after the Census is made, the population, instead of being limited like a tontine to the survivors, were increased by an indefinite but a large and continued immigration, (from other nations as well as from the cradle), and if I should be told that my now increased society lost annually 1 in 50 of their number, how many of the old and how many of the new inhabitants being left indeterminate, I acknowledge that I should find it a difficult task, even with the assistance of their ages, to separate the deaths. This, however, is the problem

which you have attempted to solve, for the purpose of proving that I did not understand the subject. Had there been no increase except from births, something might have been done by attending to the ages of the living and the dead; but the influx of strangers of all ages, is so great into Philadelphia as to make this discrimination of no avail. The following Table will be a sufficient illustration.

Census of the City and Parish of Philadelphia in 1800 and in 1810, not including the Liberties.

Ages of the Living.	In 1800.			In 1810.		
	Males.	Females.	In all.	Males.	Females.	In all.
Under 10	4,485	4,736	9,221	5,966	6,219	12,185
10 to 16	2,256	2,424	4,680	3,170	3,272	6,442
16 to 26	4,518	4,626	9,144	6,000	6,293	12,293
26 to 45	5,247	4,233	9,480	5,581	5,479	11,060
Above 45	2,118	2,312	4,430	2,523	2,865	5,388
Total	18,624	18,331	36,955	23,240	24,128	47,368

Had there been no addition except by births, those of 1810, above 10 years of age, would have represented the population of 1800 diminished by the deaths of 10 years.

The Census of 1800 was 36,955

The number in 1810 above 10 years was 35,183

And the difference 1,772
would have shown the deaths in 10 years, had there

been no additions from without. But this paucity of deaths is so very improbable, that even you will doubt it.

Further,—all above 16 in 1800 must have been above 26 in 1810.

The number above 16 in 1800 was . 23,054

Those above 26 in 1810 were . . 16,448

The difference 6,606

is a decrease in 10 years in the proportion of 1 to 3,48 of all the population above 16 years; a proportion which you will hardly allow to have arisen from deaths, though we shall find a similar proportion of decrease in other states and in other nations.

Again, setting aside immigration, the young persons under 16, in the Census of 1800, must have been all between 10 and 26 in that of 1810, with the exception of those who died in the interim.

The number under 16 in 1800 was 13,901

Those between 10 and 26 in 1810 were 13,824

77

So we must believe that only 77 of the 13,901 had died in the course of these 10 years, unless we grant that the places of the dead had been supplied from other quarters.

These censuses might be compared in various other ways; but, turn them as we will, it is impossible to make them the solid foundation of any reasoning on the point in dispute. For my part, I should as soon rest on data derived from the door-

keepers of Drury Lane, or from an annual census of the crowds at Bartholomew Fair.

But although the censuses of such fluctuating masses of population can render us little or no service, in our investigation of the law of the extinction by death of a given body of human beings, yet something may be learned from Bills of Mortality, wherever they may be kept, when they give us the ages of the dead; and it is from such documents that all our tables of the Expectation of Life in Europe have been drawn up. In a paragraph of your Review which I have already quoted (at p. 26) you lament the want of American tables, formed like those of Dr. Price for Sweden, and from which you seem to expect that your theory would be confirmed. "Then have thy wish!" Such tables were calculated and are adopted by the "Pennsylvanian Company for Insurance on Lives and granting Annuities;" and they are printed in Dr. Seybert's book, though you do not choose to mention them. There are two sets. One founded on the Records of the Episcopal Church, and the other on the Bills of Mortality, published by the Board of Health of Philadelphia. The former gives the Expectation of Life somewhat more in the lower ages and less in the higher, but they are not otherwise materially different. I shall here copy them, and compare them with the "Expectations of Life" in Sweden and Northampton, extracted from Dr. Price.

Expectation of Life in Philadelphia compared with
Sweden and Northampton.

Philadelphia.					Philadelphia.				
Age.	Board of Health.	Episcopal Church.	Sweden.	Northampton.	Age.	Board of Health.	Episcopal Church.	Sweden.	Northampton.
0			34.42	25.18	46	17.64	18.99	20.98	20.02
1	25.96	30.91	42.95	32.74	47	17.44	18.55	20.35	19.51
2	32.92	34.43	44.92	37.79	48	17.24	18.14	19.72	19.00
3	36.80	35.74	46.11	39.55	49	17.02	17.73	19.09	18.49
4	36.85	37.30	46.78	40.58	50	16.82	17.32	18.46	17.99
5	36.94	37.91	46.79	40.84	51	16.66	16.92	17.87	17.50
6	37.02	38.60	46.66	41.07	52	16.31	16.52	17.29	17.02
7	36.42	38.24	46.43	41.03	53	15.97	16.13	16.70	16.54
8	35.83	37.88	46.07	40.79	54	15.64	15.75	16.12	16.06
9	35.23	37.50	45.61	40.36	55	15.33	15.40	15.53	15.58
10	34.59	37.12	45.07	39.78	56	14.97	15.04	14.95	15.10
11	33.95	36.74	44.38	39.14	57	14.62	14.68	14.37	14.63
12	33.20	36.09	43.70	38.49	58	14.31	14.35	13.79	14.15
13	32.44	35.43	43.01	37.83	59	14.00	14.04	13.21	13.68
14	31.68	34.77	42.33	37.17	60	13.71	13.75	12.63	13.21
15	30.92	34.10	41.64	36.51	61	13.44	13.48	12.12	12.75
16	30.16	33.43	40.92	35.85	62	13.06	13.04	11.62	12.28
17	29.38	32.73	40.19	35.20	63	12.68	12.60	11.11	11.81
18	28.60	32.02	39.47	34.58	64	12.25	12.17	10.61	11.35
19	27.82	31.31	38.74	33.99	65	11.82	11.70	10.10	10.88
20	27.04	30.60	38.02	33.41	66	11.41	11.23	9.62	10.42
21	26.25	29.88	37.33	32.90	67	11.00	10.76	9.15	9.96
22	25.57	29.40	36.64	32.39	68	10.60	10.30	8.67	9.50
23	25.19	28.93	35.94	31.88	69	10.21	9.83	8.20	9.05
24	24.67	28.46	35.27	31.36	70	9.83	9.37	7.72	8.60
25	24.14	27.99	34.58	30.85	71	9.48	8.92	7.32	8.17
26	23.61	27.50	33.91	30.33	72	9.15	8.54	6.89	7.74
27	23.08	27.00	33.23	29.82	73	8.84	8.16	6.53	7.33
28	22.55	26.50	32.56	29.30	74	8.47	7.75	6.23	6.92
29	22.01	25.99	31.88	28.79	75	8.23	7.43	5.91	6.54
30	21.48	25.50	31.21	28.27	76	7.78	7.06	5.59	6.18
31	20.93	24.99	30.57	27.76	77	7.50	6.72	5.28	5.83
32	20.65	24.59	29.94	27.24	78	7.25	6.40	4.96	5.48
33	20.40	24.19	29.30	26.72	79	7.07	6.15	4.61	5.11
34	20.16	23.80	28.67	26.20	80	6.97	5.95	4.28	4.75
35	19.95	23.40	28.03	25.68	81	7.00	5.86	4.01	4.41
36	19.76	23.01	27.31	25.16	82	6.65	5.40	3.80	4.09
37	19.57	22.64	26.68	24.64	83	6.33	4.94	3.57	3.80
38	19.40	22.23	26.01	24.12	84	6.00	4.50	3.39	3.58
39	19.25	21.83	25.33	23.60	85	5.85	4.07	3.23	3.37
40	19.15	21.44	24.66	23.08	86	5.50	3.66	3.09	3.19
41	19.09	21.05	24.05	22.56	87	5.17	3.30	2.92	3.01
42	18.87	20.80	23.44	22.04	88	4.92	3.00	2.71	2.86
43	18.54	20.22	22.83	21.54	89	4.75	2.83	2.43	2.66
44	18.18	19.82	22.22	21.03	90	4.73		2.05	2.11
45	17.91	19.42	21.61	20.52	91			1.71	2.09

If then these American calculations be correct (and the managers of the Pennsylvanian Assurance Office must believe so) it would appear that the value of life in Philadelphia is less than in almost any part of Europe. This to be sure would be no evidence that the population did not increase, even by procreation alone (for that depends not so much on a lengthened life as on the proportion of females who arrive at the age of womanhood, and the ardour with which they enter into the wicked compact of marriage) but it may make us "suspect" that the number of members of an American society, if deprived of further increase, would decline more rapidly than in the old world. From suspicion I now proceed to proof.

Assuming a certain number of simultaneous births, the following Table will show the proportion that remain alive at every age, until the whole are extinguished, according to the "expectations" of the preceding page. The columns for Sweden and Northampton are, with a change of Radix, copied from Dr. Price. I calculated the American ones from the Philadelphian values of life, by reversing the method by which such Tables of Expectations are made:

Probabilities of Life in Philadelphia, Sweden, and
Northampton.

Age.	Philadelphia.		Sweden.	Northampton.	Age.	Philadelphia.		Sweden.	Northampton.
	Board of Health.	Episcopal Church.				Board of Health.	Episcopal Church.		
0	1000		1000	1000	46	180	243	414	272
1	755	755	780	743	47	172	235	407	265
2	575	657	730	625	48	164	228	400	259
3	500	615	695	582	49	157	221	392	252
4	486	573	671	553	50	149	213	385	245
5	472	550	656	536	51	142	206	376	238
6	458	526	644	521	52	137	199	367	231
7	453	517	634	509	53	131	191	358	224
8	448	508	625	499	54	126	184	349	217
9	443	500	618	492	55	120	177	340	210
10	439	492	611	487	56	115	170	331	203
11	434	484	606	483	57	110	162	322	196
12	431	479	602	478	58	105	155	312	189
13	428	474	597	474	59	100	148	303	182
14	425	470	594	470	60	95	140	293	175
15	422	465	590	465	61	91	133	282	168
16	418	461	586	461	62	86	127	271	161
17	415	457	582	457	63	82	122	259	154
18	412	453	578	452	64	78	117	247	147
19	409	449	574	446	65	75	112	235	140
20	405	444	570	441	66	71	107	224	133
21	402	440	565	434	67	68	101	212	126
22	397	433	560	428	68	64	96	200	119
23	388	425	555	421	69	60	92	187	113
24	380	417	551	415	70	57	86	175	106
25	372	409	546	409	71	53	81	162	99
26	365	401	541	402	72	49	76	149	92
27	358	394	535	396	73	46	71	135	85
28	351	387	530	389	74	43	65	121	78
29	344	380	525	383	75	39	60	108	71
30	337	373	519	376	76	36	55	96	65
31	330	365	513	370	77	33	50	85	58
32	318	357	507	364	78	30	45	74	52
33	307	348	501	357	79	27	40	65	46
34	296	339	495	351	80	23	35	56	40
35	284	331	488	344	81	20	30	47	35
36	273	322	482	338	82	18	27	38	30
37	262	313	477	331	83	17	25	31	25
38	251	305	471	325	84	15	22	24	20
39	240	296	465	318	85	13	19	19	16
40	229	289	459	312	86	12	17	14	12
41	218	280	453	305	87	10	14	11	9
42	209	272	445	299	88	9	11	8	7
43	202	265	437	292	89	8	8	6	5
44	195	258	430	285	90	6		5	4
45	187	250	422	279	91			3	3

The American Tables not giving the expectations at birth leave the deaths under a year old rather uncertain. I have endeavoured to accommodate them to the same Radix (1000 births) as those of Sweden and Northampton. In that of the Board of Health, on looking at the decrease between one and two years, it is indubitable that the births must have been *above a thousand*, and I have written down that number so that I may be within the mark, for the lesser number is in your favour. The Radix of the Episcopal Church we shall, if you please, leave, for the present, undetermined. The following observations then refer solely to the probabilities from the Board of Health; and it may be noticed in the outset that as the numbers in the Table mark the survivors, of '1000 simultaneous births, at the beginning of each year, the arithmetical mean between each pair of succeeding numbers will be the average number of the living throughout the intervening twelve months. The number of all the living included within certain ages is given in the different Censuses. The following are the particulars for 1800.

Census of the United States in 1800.

Under 10 years of age	1,489,393
From 10 to 16	666,670
From 16 to 26	794,885
From 26 to 45	838,016
Above 45	<u>517,512</u>
Whole Free Population	<u>4,306,476</u>

Now in order to discover the loss which this multitude must have sustained by death, between 1800 and 1810, it is necessary to compare each of its five divisions with the Board of Health Table of probability.

In the Table referred to, the numbers given are those, of the thousand births, which are alive at the *beginning* of each successive year. If we wish to know the average of the living throughout the whole of any particular year, we must take the arithmetical mean between the number at the beginning and at the end of such year, which will be a near approximation. The number alive at 1 year for instance is 755 and at 2 years 575, the mean of which is 665, the average number between 1 and 2 years old. This number, 14 years afterwards, will be reduced to the average between 15 and 16 years of age, that is, to 420, having lost 225 of their number. In the same manner, if we take the means between every two numbers under 10 years of age, the sum of these means will represent the population under ten, on the supposition of a regular succession of a thousand annual births. This sum is 5310, which, in 10 years, will be reduced to 4216, the medium population between the ages of 10 and 20 years. This proportion of mortality (5310 to 4216) exists on the supposition of the number of births being stationary :—if they were continually increasing this proportion would increase, and if they decreased

the proportion would diminish. We have the amount of the American Census under 10 years, but we know not the numbers of each respective year. Both you and I however, though we ascribe it to different causes, allow that the American population has been increasing—that the births in 1810 were more than in 1800; and, therefore, if we take the proportion abovementioned, we shall be in no danger of rating the mortality too high. This remark applies only to these early ages where the expectation varies so much in 2 or 3 years. In the higher ages the difference is less material.

If then 5310 be diminished to 4216 in the course of 10 years, 1,489,393 (the amount under 10 in the Census of 1800) will have been reduced to 1,182,538, the number which should have appeared between 10 and 20, in the Census of 1810, had there been no immigration.

Calculating the other parts of the Census of 1800, in the same manner, we shall find the decrease by deaths, in 10 years, as follows:

Census of 1800.		Living in 1810.	
Under 10 years . .	1,489,393	Between 10 and 20	1,182,538
From 10 to 16 . .	666,670	Between 20 and 26	602,806
From 16 to 26 . .	794,385	Between 26 and 36	649,146
From 26 to 45 . .	838,016	Between 36 and 55	563,438
Above 45 . .	517,512	Above 55	282,786
Free White Popula ⁿ	4,306,476	Alive in 1810	3,280,714

Subtracting the number that are alive in 1810 from the population of 1800, we have 1,025,762, the number of the dead, being to the whole Census as 1 to 4.2, nearly ; so that, according to this Table, with the allowances which we have made, *one fourth of the population must have died in ten years.* A calculation from the records of the Episcopal Church will be very little different, and it will serve to amuse your leisure.

You will probably question the authority of these Tables of Expectation ; but have you access to more certain documents ? In all our reasonings we must trust to some data, unless we would recite our dreams and expect to be believed. What ability and attention have been bestowed upon their construction I know not, but surely the Company for whom they were formed have no interest in their falsification, for they purchase as well as sell Annuities ; and, moreover, their business is not confined to the city of Philadelphia. Neither is it probable that any place could have been better chosen for such observations. It is less resorted to by emigrants than New York and many other cities ; and, although it was founded 140 years ago, its population is not yet greater than the second rate towns in Europe. It may be remarked, too, that it is by no means certain that the thinly peopled parts of America are the most favourable to health

and longevity. Newly settled districts have many disadvantages in this respect; and it is doubtful whether human life is more prolonged in the prairies of the Illinois than in the fens of Lincolnshire.

In the third Vol. of the American Philosophical Transactions, a volume from which you have quoted both in your great work and in your review, there are some Tables by Mr. Barton, which show a remarkable coincidence in the probabilities of life between Philadelphia and the town of Salem in Massachusetts. Two of these Tables I shall here insert. That for Philadelphia is from bills of mortality for 22 years previous to 1791; and the one for Salem is for the years 1782, 1783, 1789 and 1790. Mr. Barton's authority as a calculator is not great, but it may be taken at what it is worth.

Age.	Philadelphia.		Salem.	
	Living.	Decrease	Living.	Decrease
0	1000	388	1000	
3	612	57		445
5	555	44	555	50
10	511	46	505	35
20	465	97	470	128
30	368	98	342	90
40	270	92	252	83
50	178	64	169	40
60	114	62	129	35
70	52	32	94	68
80	20	14	26	
90	6			

From what has been said I have no doubt but you are already convinced that you mistook "the peculiar structure of the American population;" and that you are heartily ashamed of the overbearing manner of your Review. I must, however, beg your patience a little longer, while I endeavour to procure some evidence from the Censuses of those States which have been least affected by immigration.

1. Decrease of the Census of 1790, in nine of the States, when retaken in 1800.					2. Decrease of the Census of 1800, in nine of the States, when retaken in 1810.				
States.	Population in 1790.	Numb. above 10 years old in 1800.	Decrease.	Proportion of Decrease.	Population in 1800.	Numb. above 10 years old in 1810.	Decrease.	Proportion of Decrease.	Population in 1810.
Massachusetts	373,324	291,827	81,497	1 to 4.5	416,393	329,492	86,901	1 to 4.7	465,303
Rhode Island	64,470	45,969	18,501	1 to 3.4	65,438	51,924	13,514	1 to 4.8	73,214
Connecticut	232,374	171,039	61,335	1 to 3.7	244,721	181,454	63,267	1 to 3.8	255,179
New Jersey	169,954	127,723	42,231	1 to 4	194,245	152,992	41,253	1 to 4.7	226,868
Delaware	46,310	33,974	12,336	1 to 3.7	49,852	36,688	13,164	1 to 3.7	55,361
Maryland	208,649	152,794	55,855	1 to 3.7	225,386	160,367	65,019	1 to 3.4	235,117
Virginia	442,117	337,554	104,563	1 to 4.2	518,674	374,104	144,570	1 to 3.5	567,613
N. Carolina	288,204	215,572	72,632	1 to 3.9	337,764	242,953	94,811	1 to 3.5	376,410
S. Carolina	140,178	124,180	15,998	1 to 8.7	196,255	137,030	59,225	1 to 3.3	214,196
	1,965,779	1,500,632	464,948	1 to 4.2	2,248,728	1,667,004	581,724	1 to 3.8	2,469,261
The proportion of decrease in S. Carolina, so widely different from that of the other States, has affected the average. The Census of this State for 1790 was so very irregularly taken, that the returns were not completed until more than a year after the Reports had been received from all the other States of the Union. See Trans. of Amer. Phil. Soc. vol. iii. p. 134.					In 1800 the population of Columbia was included partly in Maryland and partly in Virginia, and therefore the number above 10 years of age, found in that district in 1810, is here added to that of Virginia, as the nearest approximation to accuracy.				

It thus appears that, in nine of the older States, although there has been an apparent increase of more than twenty-five per cent. in twenty years, there is, in every Census, a decrease of a fourth part of the number of persons contained in the preceding enumeration. You speak of the advantage to longevity in the whole mass, accruing from "the structure of the American population*." This has been already discussed when treating of the Expectations of Life, but here it may be compared with that of Sweden.

In the Table, at page 13 of this Letter, the number of individuals under 15 years of age is 3499, in a population of 10,000. All that were alive of these, 10 years after, must have been between 10 and 25: and as the increase, in the years from which this Table was formed, was not great, the numbers between 10 and 25 years will give us the living of those 3499, without much risk of error. The number between 10 and 25 is 2695, being a diminution of 804, and giving an average of deaths of 1 in 4.35 of the population under 15, in the course of 10 years. Following the same mode of calculation the 6501, above 15 years of age, will be found to have been reduced, in 10 years, to 4821, the number in the Table above 25 years of age. These 6501 will

* Review, page 367.

then have lost 1680, in that period, by death, being 1 in 3.85 of their number.

The American Census of 1790, on account of its want of ages, gives, in this case, no points of comparison. The Censuses of 1800 and 1810, are more particular; and, though we do not find the numbers above and below 15 and 25, we have the points of 16 and 26, which, differing so little, may be advantageously compared with the abstract of the population of Sweden. Notwithstanding the difference of structure, the proportional decrease is strikingly similar, as is apparent from the following Table. The decrease under 16 is greater than would appear from calculating by the Tables of the Board of Health, which elucidates the remark made at pages 39, 40 of this Letter. American marriages are early, and the children are, probably on that account, more numerous; but the proportion of the living, at the ages between 16 and 26 compared with those between 26 and 45, exhibits the cankerworm of decay. The blossoms are plentiful, but they are

“ The sickly daughters of th' unripen'd year.”

States.	Decrease of the Population <i>under</i> 16 from 1800 to 1810.				Decrease of the Population <i>above</i> 16 from 1800 to 1810.			
	Under 16 in 1800.	10 to 26 in 1810.	Decrease.	Proportion of decrease under 16.	Above 16 in 1800.	Above 26 in 1810.	Decrease.	Proportion of decrease above 16.
Massachusetts	187,747	159,539	28,208	1 to 6.6	228,646	169,953	58,693	1 to 3.9
Rhode Island	29,847	25,713	4,134	1 to 7.2	35,591	26,211	9,380	1 to 3.8
Connecticut	111,308	88,282	23,026	1 to 4.8	133,413	93,172	40,241	1 to 3.3
New Jersey	97,208	79,126	18,082	1 to 5.3	97,037	73,866	23,171	1 to 4.1
Delaware	24,592	19,541	5,051	1 to 4.8	25,260	17,147	8,113	1 to 3.1
Maryland	107,570	82,885	24,685	1 to 4.3	117,816	77,482	40,334	1 to 2.9
Virginia	257,586	197,021	60,565	1 to 4.2	261,088	177,083	84,005	1 to 3.2
N. Carolina	175,139	132,937	42,202	1 to 4.1	162,625	110,016	52,609	1 to 3.1
S. Carolina	104,088	75,338	28,750	1 to 3.6	92,167	61,692	30,475	1 to 3
	1,095,085	860,382	234,703	1 to 4.6	1,153,643	806,622	347,021	1 to 3.3

It may be objected to these Tables that they do not include the whole of the American States ; but if in *these* the mortality be such as the Censuses represent, there is little reason for believing that it is less in any other portion of the Union. They contain from a half to two-thirds of the whole population, and are, besides, the only States that could have been selected, for all the others are so overwhelmed with immigrants as to defy every comparison of numbers or of ages. As far as the Censuses teach us, the inhabitants of the back-settlements never die, and, in some cases, they are found to double their numbers in little more than a twelve-month !

But you will say that this decrease of a fourth of the population of the older States is, in a great degree, occasioned by emigration to the new ;—that only an *eighth* part could have died, and the other eighth had emigrated. This is asserting that the 2,248,728, which were mustered in the Census of 1800, could have lost only 281,091 by the year 1810 ; and, that of the diminution in the Tables (581,724) there must have been above 300,000, *then living* in other parts of the Union, and surrounded too (as consequent upon the supposition) by 150,000 children, propagated by them in the course of these 10 years. Thus 450,000, nearly a fifth of the whole of the population of the nine older States, were transferred to

the newly planted territories, along with all the emigrants that had arrived from Europe, at whatever ports they might have landed. This transfer, too, must have been made, in the form of an equable poll-tax, upon all these States. Each had contributed an equal proportion, and that proportion must have been taken, not at random, but with the nicest discrimination, from both sexes and from every age; for the same relative proportion in all their parts prevails, in each of the States, between the Census of 1810 and that of 1800. Notwithstanding this extensive migration, there still appears an increase between the Censuses of more than 220,000, being (according to your phraseology) 10 per cent. in the course of ten years. It should be particularly attended to, that all this increase, as well as the migration, must have arisen *from procreation only*; for, though almost all the European emigrants land in these States, they must not have settled there, otherwise your proportion of deaths could not have obtained.

Taking for granted your rate of mortality and consequent emigration from these nine States, and adding to this emigration your acknowledged arrivals from the Old World, together with the population acquired by naturalization and by territorial acquisitions, whether by treaty or by recent admissions into the Union, the excess of the Census of

1810 above that of 1800 may be accounted for, without supposing the inhabitants of the new States to have done more than keep up their race. With your proportion of deaths, the geometrical ratio would thus be transported from the back-settlements to the maritime districts, and the Genius of evil would leave the banks of the Mississippi to wander on the shores of Connecticut.

But there is authority which you dare not dispute against this increase of the Eastern States:

“Along the sea-coast, which would naturally be first inhabited, the period of doubling was about 35 years, and in some of the maritime towns the population was absolutely at a stand. From the late Census made in America, it appears that, taking all the States together, they have still continued to double their numbers every 25 years; and as the whole population is now so great as not to be materially affected by the emigrations from Europe, and as it is known that, in some of the towns and districts near the sea-coast, the progress of population has been comparatively slow; it is evident, that in the interior of the country in general, the period of doubling from procreation only must have been considerably less than 25 years*.”

Again,

“But, in reality, the condition of the Eastern States, does not now apply to Mr. Malthus’s proposition. His proposition, as we understand it, is this; that if the obvious causes which check marriage, and occasion premature

* Malthus on Population, vol. ii pages 194 and 195.

mortality, were removed in such a way as they are actually found to be removed in some countries for short periods, the population would go on increasing at a rate which would double the numbers in less than twenty-five years. But, in the Eastern States, the towns are now large, and some of them so unhealthy as scarcely to keep up their numbers. It is known that they are subject to the yellow fever, which seems to prevail only in towns of some size, and not to extend itself into the country. And further, there is reason to believe, that these portions of the American population are not exempt from those vices which tend to render marriage less frequent, less early, and less fruitful than in the country. The Western States, therefore, alone answer the conditions of Mr. Malthus's proposition, and alone furnish a practical illustration of the rate at which population may increase when unchecked*."

This admission, thus repeatedly and advisedly made, "sets at rest your principle of population." That you should have made this concession in your earlier work, when you were not aware of the consequence to be drawn, is not to be wondered at; but that you should have reiterated it in 1821, while you were endeavouring to prove that I had mistaken the number of the dead, is truly astonishing!

In the drama of life, the born enter and the dying leave the scene; and if we see the actors arrive, in numerous and close procession, without crowding the stage, we may be assured that death is busy

* Edin. Review, No. 70, page 368.

there. In the nine States which we have repeatedly referred to, the Census of 1800 was recruited, in the course of 10 years, by above 800,000 little emigrants from the cradle, (being 35 per cent. of augmentation,) who appeared in the succeeding enumeration. How many more were born and died has no bearing on the present question, neither, in your opinion, have we to count on the children of immigrants; for you say "that the influence of immigration upon the population of the United States, particularly in the intervals of the two Censuses of 1790 and 1810, has been quite inconsiderable*." This 35 per cent. then was certainly added to the population of 1800; and as they did not muster more than 10 per cent. increase in 1810, they must, by your own admission, have lost a fourth of their number by death. If in any district the increase of population be, as you say, either "*slow*" or "*at a stand*," it is obviously not from the want of births; and, if with such a proportion of births (far greater than is found in Europe) the deaths be such, in any one State, as to keep down the population, there is no reason for supposing that these are fewer in the other States. Connecticut, for instance, which shows so little increase, does not contain a single large town, and is reckoned as healthy as any part of the Union.

* Review, page 369.

I need add nothing more on this subject. With your own hands you have sprung a mine, by which the fabric, that you have been building for so many years, is blown into atoms.

I have now, at some length, stated the grounds of my conviction that the Census of 1800 must have been diminished one-fourth by the time of the succeeding enumeration; and if this has been demonstrated, it inevitably follows that the far greater part of the increase, which appeared in the Census of 1810, must have been the consequence of immigration. But you have appealed to authority distinct from the Censuses; and to this authority I now attend.

To prove that the immigration "has been quite inconsiderable," you say, that Dr. Seybert "*calculates* that no more than 6000 could have arrived annually from 1790 to 1810." I have sufficiently adverted to the contents of this paragraph in a former part of my Letter; but to satisfy those who may wonder how the amount of immigration, which naturally rests on facts and documents, could be made a matter of *calculation*, I must say something of "the valuable work of Dr. Seybert."

This ponderous quarto is a collection of tabular reports relative to the commerce, military, navy, revenue and expenditure of the United States. It was published in 1818, and professes to be more

complete than a thin octavo volume, on the same subjects, which was drawn up by Mr. Timothy Pitkin, about two years before. "It appears," you say, "to be sanctioned by Congress." It was so, and the sanction was of a curious kind. On the report of a committee, Congress ordered the purchase of 500 copies, and (at the same time) a like number of copies, of Mr. Pitkin's book, which, if Dr. Seybert's were of any value, must have been no better than an old almanack. Tables of exports and imports, copied in the mass from the custom-house books, may be termed "official;" but they can be interesting only to a few. Many, however, of the documents in the "Statistical Annals" are any thing but official, being extracted from anonymous statements, printed, originally, on this side of the Atlantic, in the Monthly Magazine, Literary Panorama, Naval Chronicle, and other periodical publications. These remarks would have been quite out of place, had you not, by your excess of praise, endeavoured to raise the Doctor, in the estimation of your readers, for the purpose of making them bow to his authority. "It contains," you say, "all the authentic materials which are to be found on the subject of population in that country*." These alone are to our present purpose.

* Review, page 366, note.

Only 38 pages of this immense volume are appropriated to population, 7 or 8 of which (neatly interspersed) contain what may be called the theory of the subject, and are extracted chiefly from Mr. Malthus, to whom he repeatedly refers. Four pages are taken up with the different Censuses; and about a dozen more in subsidiary calculations, founded and wholly dependent upon the accuracy of those enumerations. There is a statement showing that 22,240 passengers were landed at ten of the American ports in 1817; and some notices respecting the health of the inhabitants of Philadelphia. Besides these, there is scarcely another line that is worth attending to.

With regard to the Censuses, they cannot possibly have been copied from official documents. That of 1790, though a very small table, exhibits 18 or 20 obvious errors; and that of 1800 adds the Census of the district of Columbia, after having included it in the enumerations of Virginia and Maryland; but, to make amends for this unwarranted increase, the additional return for Baltimore is neglected. These numerous blunders can in no wise be imputed to the press; for they are dovetailed and riveted into one another, by the separate summation of every column and of every horizontal line.

From these data are formed the several statements of "results" which we are told, in a note,

“ have been examined and confirmed by Walter Folger jun. of the House of Representatives of the United States, and R. M. Paterson, professor of mathematics in the university of Pennsylvania*.” The statements themselves would not be worth noticing, were it not on account of their absurdity. One Table, for instance, gives us (erroneously to be sure) the number of *free white persons* within the United States in 1790, 1800, and 1810; with their increase at each period, the annual increase per cent. and the number of years required for a duplication. Another similar Table refers to *all free persons*; a third to the *slaves*, and a fourth to the combined *free and slave population*; each having columns in the manner of the first, and each specifying the period, to the hundredth part of a year, which is required for their respective duplication. One of these tables, (immediately following that of the *free white persons*,) is headed “*concerning all other free persons except Indians not taxed* ;” that is, concerning the *free blacks*, and the same corresponding results are given to this as to the other classes of the community. The free Negroes have, however, as I apprehend, a source of increase independent of immigrants, or of procreation; for the manumission of these wretched beings is become the fashion of

* Seybert's *Statistical Annals*, page 21.

the day, and is rapidly extending over the slaveholding States. But this presents no obstacle to the labours of Messrs. Folger and Paterson. These wonderful calculators have discovered that humanity expands in a geometrical series, and in such a ratio that the effects of its beneficence continually double their number in 12.13 years, that is, in 12 years, 47 days, 10 hours and 48 minutes! Seriously, Mr. Malthus, this is using you ill. I grant that, though the discovery was made in the back-settlements of America, your patent, having been taken out in Britain, may be violated with impunity on the other side of the Atlantic; but it is unfair in the philosophers of Philadelphia thus to make a mock of your grand principle, by exhibiting its mighty machinery in the movements of a puppetshow.

It were a waste of time to follow this author through all his other "results;" and I therefore, take my leave of him by quoting the following grave remarks, which I do not recollect having seen in any other work on population.

"It is a fact worthy of notice, that, during the two periods, for which the discriminations have been made in our returns, viz. in 1800 and 1810, the free white females of 16 and under 26 years of age, were more numerous than the males of the same ages. In 1800, for every 100 males of the description aforesaid, there were 102.18 females; in 1810, for every 100 of the males, of the ages specified, there were 102.56 females. Although, in the aggregate of the

free white population, there was for every period an excess of males, yet the females were more numerous than the males, at that time of life when marriages usually take place in our country; for every other age, with one exception only, viz. the persons who were under 10 years of age, in 1800, the males were more numerous than the females. In the foregoing regulation, there is much reason to admire the wisdom of the Almighty. The period of life, when the females exceeded the number of the males, is the most important for the conservation of our species; our existence and increase are then more effectually secured by a *moderate* predominance of the sex, which is, at all times, the most delicate, and from peculiar circumstances, at that period, the more liable to casualties."

If Dr. Seybert be not a *wise*, he at least appears to be a very *pious* man; and it is "comfortable" to find such a person, among the members of the only legislative body on earth that refuse the prayers of a chaplain.

Are we then to believe, upon this author's bare assertion unaccompanied with a single shadow of evidence, that only 60,000 emigrants could have entered the territories of the United States, between the years 1800 and 1810? Surely the good Doctor must have been dreaming when he said so, or his imagination had been chasing phantoms among the clouds. Did he not know, or had he forgotten, that the territories of Orleans and Louisiana, with a population of nearly 100,000 human beings, were

added to the Union by a single stroke of the pen; and that the Illinois and Michigan, which, with 17,000 inhabitants, appear, for the first time, in the Census of 1810, owe the principal part of their population to the cessions from France and Spain? How many thousands were excluded from the Census of 1800 on account of the scattered state of the newly settled tracts, which rendered it difficult to collect their amount; or by reason of the uncertainty of bounding lines, which, in many cases, prevented the inhabitants from knowing to what State, or even to what nation, they belonged, until, becoming more thickly peopled, they attracted attention and sought the advantages of the Union? Is there not a hybrid class, sprung from Indians and also from Mulattoes, which is continually adding to the number of the Whites? And further, was there not a number of foreigners in 1800, who, not being citizens, were excluded from the Census, but had become naturalized in 1810? An account of these strangers was taken in the Census of 1820 (of which I have seen only a general abstract), and their number is stated to be 53,656.

Everyone of the circumstances above enumerated, (and others, perhaps, of which we are ignorant,) must have had the same effect upon the Census of 1810, as a direct European emigration. According to the confined notions of some of your disciples,

the immigration, into the United States, may (with the addition of *a few* French and Germans) be counted from the custom-house books of Great Britain. There, we have the *registered tonnage*, and the passengers, entered for the different American ports, with the check calculation of the number allowed by law for every ton. Statements so drawn up have been triumphantly published, forgetting that a sixth of all the seamen navigating American vessels, are foreigners*. But, even in this Pishah view of the subject, much has been overlooked. Emigrants to the New World are seldom overburthened with money; and they generally take the cheapest conveyance, although it do not carry them, in the first instance, to the place where they mean finally to settle. An exemplification of this appears in an account, printed by the order of the House of Commons, of the passengers cleared out, from the several ports of Scotland, for the British Dominions, and for the United States in North America, and the West Indies, during the year ended the 31st December 1821.

For the West Indies	339
For the United States	290
For the British Dominions	3,838
	<u>4,467</u>

* Scybert's *Statistical Annals*, page 316.

It is well known that the British colonies serve merely as avenues to introduce a continued succession of emigrants, from England and Ireland as well as Scotland, into the United States. Other stations are avenues to the emigrants from other countries; for that land of republicans has been long considered as the focus of freedom, by the discontented among all the nations of Europe.

I believe I have now demonstrated that your *power of procreation* has not been exhibited in America; and (as I said before) you have yourself written three volumes to prove that it has appeared in no other part of the earth. In the United States, men are born and die, something in the same manner as in Europe. The soil of the New World does not teem with human beings ready to start into life, as by the labours of Deucalion. Your far-famed error has arisen from your superficial view of society. In reasoning upon the increase of population, you seem never to have been aware of the distinction between an old and a new country. In the former, the early terms of your progression, if it ever existed, are lost in the mists of antiquity; while, in the latter, the proportion of increase, may, at an early comparison, be any thing you will, because the first term of the series is a cypher. In 1790, neither Indiana, nor the Illinois, contained a single settler; and in the Census of 1810 they number above 36,000. You

have, therefore, the two terms 0 and \$6,000 ; but, I believe, it would puzzle even your American mathematicians to calculate, from such data, the ratio of increase. Let us, for the sake of an approximation to common sense, take these colonies, not at *zero*, but when they mustered 36 individuals. In 20 years, then, they had increased a thousand fold. Do you call this a natural law of increase ? If you do not, how are you to discriminate ? A single pair placed alone in an island, may possibly, in ten years, have 6 children. The inhabitants of this island would then be 4 times the number of the first settlers : other pairs, more or less fortunate in their issue, may be added from time to time ; and, when you have thereby procured a nation of children, you point to this nursery of human beings and cry ‘ Behold the natural law of population ! ’ It is astonishing, even to yourself, that this law has already ceased in the older States ; but it must be always thus :—The geometrical ratio is never to be found except in the cradle of society.

But are we certain that mankind, under any circumstances, possess an unlimited power of increase ? Does not a tree overbear itself and remain comparatively barren for years ? Is not a soil improveable to a certain extent, and then obliged to be rested, or to be cropped with vegetables of another kind ? The aborigines of North America are rapidly di-

minishing in numbers, while those of the South are populous and powerful. No attention nor encouragement has been able to rear the requisite number of Blacks in our West India Islands, nor even in the procreating climate of the United States. This, to be sure, may be attributed to the condition of slavery ; but the same evil prevails among the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The Emperor Christophe complained of a diminution of his subjects ; and it appears that this was not confined to the poor, but had an obvious effect among the noblesse of the land ; for, by an Edict dated 20 August 1819, he provides for the vacant dignities, occasioned by the want of male heirs to many illustrious houses of the kingdom*. These losses, however, which His Majesty so grievously laments, were happily not irre-

* “ EDIT DU ROI, qui pourvoie aux Dignités vacantes, dans l'Ordre de la Noblesse, qui crée de nouveaux Nobles et de nouveaux Grand Croix et Chevaliers de Saint Henry.

“ HENRY, par la grâce de Dieu et la Loi constitutionnelle de l'Etat, ROI D'HAYTI, etc. etc. etc. à tous présens et à venir, SALUT.

“ Depuis la Fondation de la Monarchie jusqu'à ce jour, nous avons vu avec regret et affliction, que plusieurs Maisons illustres du Royaume, se sont éteintes, par défaut de postérité masculine ;

“ Nous avons senti qu'il importait de pourvoir aux dignités vacantes et de créer et d'admettre dans l'Ordre de la Noblesse de nouveaux Membres dont le zèle et le patriotisme nous sont de sûrs garans de leurs nouveaux efforts pour la prospérité publique, qu'ils se montreront de fermes appuis du Trône, de la Patrie, de la Liberté

parable; such personages need not spring from hereditary descent, they may be created.

“A breath can make them, as a breath has made.”

In Europe, we have no means of observing the destruction of a tribe, as we have from those distinctive marks, the black and the copper colours, of the Negroes, and Indians of America. Nevertheless, in families which have had sufficient splendour to fix our attention, we generally, in a course of years, perceive extraordinary changes of increase and decay. The last descendant of Cromwell lived to write the history and to lament the approaching end of his race. The ancient family of the celebrated Reformer John Wycliffe, became extinct last year, by the death of Thomas Wycliffe, Esq., whose ancestors had been settled at Richmond, in Yorkshire, ever since the reign of Edward the First. How many of our nobility are the descendants of those who came in with the Conqueror? In default of a son of the present Sultan, does not the throne of the Eastern empire belong to a Calmuc Tartar, the vassal of Russia? The Dynasty of France, after an existence of 900 years, now sleeps in the cradle of a child. Does not even the House of Brunswick, lately so numerous, exhibit symptoms of decay;

et de l'Indépendance, et en même-temps que nous satisfaisons un devoir cher à notre cœur, celui de les récompenser des services rendus à notre Royaume.” &c.

and is it very improbable that the sceptre of Britain may be one day swayed by a Danish king?

We know very little of the past, and nothing at all of the future history of the human race. Whether on the whole their number be at present increasing or diminishing, I will not pretend to determine. We amuse ourselves and others with speculations on the subject ; but, with respect to a solution of the problem, I suspect that we have not advanced a single step, since it occupied the pens of Wallace and of Hume. For centuries, at least, there seem to be sufficient room and sustenance upon this globe for all its probable inhabitants ; and I see no necessity of legislating for eternity until we are certain that man, in this world, is eternal. While food can be procured by industry, the sole evil to be conquered is its unequal distribution. If there be any principle in man which will render the many for ever the slaves of the few, it is from their masters alone that we can expect amelioration ; and these, perhaps, may listen to our lectures on political economy, especially if they tend to foster their prejudices and flatter their passions ; but if, by the gradual improvement of intellect, the many shall ever be able to govern the few, we may safely leave it in the hands of those new governors to provide for their own subsistence. But even should they be improvident, what would our laws avail ?

Those future legislators would laugh at our checks upon their population. That all men have not now food in abundance, is the consequence of misrule. I will not say that this misrule may not be necessarily permanent in every human society ; that the mass of mankind, active rather than reasoning beings, may not for ages to come, as in ages past, deceive the hopes of the philosopher ; and that the best form of government that can be devised, must, like the mushroom, partake of the corruption from which it springs : should this, unfortunately, be true, the inequality of distribution must be perpetual : but this is not your principle ; for it acts independently of the amount of population, the pressure upon subsistence being caused by a combination of ignorance and despotism.

Were I an absolute monarch, and at the same time convinced of the truth of your principles, I would take care that the *checks* upon population should press *at least* as heavily upon the rich as upon the poor. The celibacy of the priests should be again revived ; and generally he who possessed the other good things of this world, should resign to the labourer the only pleasure that the institutions of society have left within his power. I do not mean to say, nor do I believe, that our modern political economists are designedly the enemies of the poor man ; but their proposed remedies for his

poverty must be very unpalatable to him. He is to continue a slave, but his load is to be lightened by diminishing the number of his fellows. It is the *Cryptia* of the Spartans. The Helots must not be too numerous, but their masters may multiply at pleasure.

Political economy, which, like its sister science metaphysics, had its origin in the Proteus meanings of words, has lately raised a new edifice upon your assumptions. If, by the destruction of these, that edifice be undermined, it is not my business to support it, neither shall I lament over its ruins. In all ages of the world there have been pretended soothsayers, who, predicting the fate of individuals or of nations, have attracted the attention of the idle and the ignorant. Oracles, omens, and auguries, influenced the very governments of antiquity; and woe to the man, whatever might have been his genius, learning, or moral worth, who dared to express a doubt of the truth of their superstitions! Those were succeeded by astrology; and the fate of nations was made to depend upon the aspect of the planets when their prince was born. Physiognomy rose to its meridian during the life, and declined with the death of Lavater, to give way to the doctrines of Gall and Spurzheim. The disciples of these latter gentlemen have begun to amuse the public by their craniological (I beg pardon, their

phrenological) lectures, which are, I dare say, perfectly harmless, while they are not recognised as any part of state policy or of state religion. They might, perhaps, be dangerous jurors ; but long may they occupy the rostrum ! for I should be sorry to see their places filled by reverend gentlemen haranguing to boys and girls on the occult science of preventing propagation.

Divines have been accused by the sceptics of begging the question, when they give the name of *effects* to the phenomena of nature, and then infer an *invisible cause* to these *visible* phenomena. But you have reversed this mode of reasoning. From the *visible* phenomena of vice and misery, which you choose to designate by the title of *causes*, you infer an *effect* that is necessarily *invisible*—the *prevention* of a certain imaginary rate of increase of mankind. Vice and misery are the readiest causes for those who would have a cause for every thing. The former is to be found in every stage of human society ; and the latter, in a great degree, pervades all that we know of animated nature. If not causes, then, they are universal concomitant circumstances ; and it may easily be supposed that they are the causes of every thing which they surround. The whole of your system rests on a single sophism ! ‘Vice and misery are checks to population ; therefore population is the *cause* of vice and misery.’ It

is obvious that the conclusion does not flow from the premises ; but even these premises themselves are only partially true. The yew tree, which shades the grave of the dead, may be stunted in its growth by a worthless soil and a chilling clime ; but under no circumstances could it ever have acquired the strength and stature of the oak.

To account for the origin of evil, (taking for granted that it had an origin,) is a task of difficulty. The Greeks traced it to the opening of a box ; certain divines, to the eating of an apple ; republicans, to the despotism of kings ; and infidels, to the power of superstition. But you have started a new theory. According to you, Love—not the polluted Venus of antiquity, but connubial Love, which moralists have hitherto considered as what distinguished man from the brutes,—is the source of all the evils of the human race. I grant that, were it so, no blame could be attributed to you ; but if not, you have blasphemed against the gentle goddess, by proclaiming her to be not an angel, but a demon.

To invent an hypothesis as the cause of a single phenomenon, is the province of the poet and not of the philosopher. The collection of facts constitutes knowledge ; and when brought under one system, it is science : but even in the more certain sciences, the part which is theoretical is not always indubitable. Theory is perishable—knowledge is im-

mortal. Theories are vessels in which the materials of science are deposited and floated down the stream of time. But these vessels are fragile. The Teredo lurks in their timbers unseen, until the probable wreck becomes apparent to the wise, who hasten to remove their stores to save them from destruction.

I have now, Sir, nearly done with you for the present; but, before closing this Letter, I beg leave to call your attention to one or two minor peculiarities in your publications, that I do not well understand, and which, perhaps, you will be kind enough to explain.

I noticed already (p. 23) a strange error in your Review, in which you imagine that the two former Censuses of this country were taken in 1800 and 1810*. This might have been passed over as a slip of the pen, had I not seen the same error printed in more than twenty different pages of your Essay on Population. There is a chapter of ridiculous calculations respecting the population of England, through the whole of which, as well as in other places, you not only persist in the same blunder, but likewise *repeatedly* and *pointedly* assert that Mr. Rickman's "Preliminary Observations on the Censuses" were *printed* and *published*, the one in 1801 and

* Review, p. 376.

the other in 1811, (that is before the Census in each case was finished,) though these are expressly dated 1802 and 1812, and were not published until the close of those years*. In one place you make a quotation from the observations on the Census of 1801, which quotation is, in the original, immediately followed by the date 1802†; and in another place you quote a whole Table from the Preliminary Observations for 1811, in which 1800 and 1810 are substituted for 1801 and 1811‡. From all this it appears certain, that though there are 80 pages of your Essay employed upon the Censuses, you have never seen either of the "Population Abstracts," and must have received the remarks which you published, from some one of your calculating friends. Indeed it is impossible to believe otherwise, unless you will plead the privilege of old age, which you so politely accord to Mr. Godwin§.

There is another point in which, it appears to me, you have treated your readers with less ceremony than you ought to have done. In your Essay on Population, you take frequent occasions to quote Dr. Price's Observations on Reversionary Pay-

* Malthus on Population, vol. ii. pages 47, 52, 57, 62, 80 to 102, &c.

† vol. ii. p. 57.

‡ Ibid. p. 95.

§ Review, p. 362, 363.

ments; and, having purchased your copy when a young man, you always refer to the 4th edition. You seem not to be aware that there have been three subsequent editions, all quite different from yours in their arrangement, and containing additional Tables and valuable notes, both by Dr. Price and by Mr. Morgan. The consequence of these improvements is, that your edition (which was printed 40 years ago) being generally wasted, is now a very scarce book; and that your readers, if they wish to follow you, have to grope their way through a modern copy; and if they find your quotation at all, it is sure to be at a very distant page, and often in a different volume from that to which you refer. This was sufficiently tormenting to the patient perusers of your larger work, but it was rather too mischievous to cite so often from the same antiquated copy, (without even mentioning the edition,) when you were writing for the more volatile readers of a modern Review. I grant that to have bought a new copy would have been expensive; but I am told that Mr. Jeffrey pays sixteen guineas a sheet, and your criticism fills fifteen pages.

When I began this Letter, I really (as I said) considered it as of no consequence who was the writer of the philippic to which I have made this

* Review, pages 365, 367 and 371.

answer; but it has been since suggested to me that there are many literary men, especially in country situations, who are little acquainted with the tricks of authors or the party spirit of Reviews. These persons look upon such conduct (which you and I know to be common) as something dishonourable, and even as approaching to crime; while in their anxiety to be just they might accuse me with being ungenerous, and call for proofs in place of insinuations. In compliance, then, with their old-fashioned notions of honour, I must advert more particularly than I otherwise would to the writer of this Review.

We are often convinced by evidence that could not be made sufficiently known so as to be satisfactory to others; and we have often a testimony for facts, when we dare not, consistently with our regard for our informant, give that testimony to the world. Such, with me, is the conviction of your having written the article in question. The overbearing insolence of that article will justify the manner of my defence; and that I have so far associated you with the Reviewer, is warranted by your avowal that there was nothing in that Review of which you disapproved. The Reviewer, not knowing his own weakness, has affected to treat me with ridicule and contempt. I have shown him that he mistook the size of my skull, and has made a cap that will fit only his own head. Having done this, I shall for

my own part rest contented ; for I have no wish to decorate him further with a fool's coat and bells. How far these things are personally applicable to yourself, you must, after all, be the best judge ; and if you will say that you had no connexion, directly or indirectly, with the manufacture of the criticism on Mr. Godwin's Work on Population, which appeared in the 70th Number of the Edinburgh Review, I will then acknowledge that I have been misinformed, and that you did not write it.

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your Opponent, but not your Enemy,

DAVID BOOTH.

London, January 1, 1823.

AN EXAMINATION
OF THE
CENSUSES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

WE have now had three general enumerations of the inhabitants of this country, taken at equal intervals, and which show an increase of population of about thirty per cent. in the course of twenty years. It is my present object to endeavour to discover, in how far this apparent increase is warranted by the returns ; and, for this purpose, it will be convenient to extract, in an abridged and condensed form, some parts of Mr. Rickman's calculations, so as to save the trouble of continued reference. Other tabular arrangements will also be necessary, to elucidate the subject. In the Censuses of 1801 and 1811, the sexes only were distinguished ; but, in that of last year, the ages were required. These were returned for about eight-ninths of the whole ; and Mr. Rickman, much to his credit, has given to these returns all the advantage of completion, by apportioning them in each case to a population of 10,000, of every county and of either sex. The following is a general summary of numbers and of ages.

Summary and Comparative Statement of the Enumerations
of 1801, 1811 and 1821.

	1801.			1811.			1821.		
	Males.	Females.	In all.	Males.	Females.	In all.	Males.	Females.	In all.
England	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434	4,581,890	4,969,998	9,551,888	5,483,679	5,777,758	11,261,437
Wales	257,178	284,368	541,546	291,633	320,155	611,788	350,487	366,951	717,438
Scotland	734,581	864,487	1,599,068	826,191	979,497	1,805,688	983,552	1,109,904	2,093,456
Army &c.	470,598		470,598	640,500		640,500	319,300		319,300
Totals	5,450,292	5,492,354	10,942,646	6,340,214	6,269,650	12,609,864	7,137,018	7,254,613	14,391,631

Comparative Statement of Ages in Great Britain proportioned to 10,000.

MALES.												
	Under 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	above 90
England	1538	1343	1169	988	1470	1155	941	666	448	222	56	4
Wales	1514	1407	1210	1009	1433	1109	871	646	475	244	74	8
Scotland	1494	1357	1247	1032	1490	1095	895	650	458	216	59	7
FEMALES.												
	Under 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	above 90
England	1444	1268	1056	995	1684	1210	933	653	458	228	65	6
Wales	1382	1281	1093	1003	1560	1163	912	673	536	281	105	11
Scotland	1294	1177	1057	1048	1769	1204	938	712	502	226	65	8

The first question that would occur to an unbiassed individual, on looking at these Censuses, would be, whether or not the two former enumerations included the whole of the inhabitants, for if not, a part, perhaps the whole, of the apparent increase must be fallacious. That they did not contain the whole of the population has been acknowledged in each of the series of "Preliminary Observations," and particularly in the last :

"It has been reasonably supposed," says Mr. Rickman, "that the first enumeration of the people in Great Britain, especially as it took place in time of war, was rendered somewhat defective from backwardness or evasion in making the answers required, inasmuch as direct taxation, and more obviously the levy of men in every place, might possibly be founded on the results of such an investigation. But as no such effect was perceived to take place, the returns of the year 1811 were in all probability more full and accurate than those of 1801 ; and the war having now ceased, there remains no reason to suspect the least deficiency in the return of 1821. Indeed, the voluntary return of the ages of persons, an inquiry of far more labour than that of the enumeration of houses, families and persons, proves, by the extent of the answers, that the Population Act has been carried into effect in the year 1821, not merely with willingness, but even with zeal, throughout the greatest part of the kingdom*."

* "Preliminary Observations to the Abstract of Population Returns for 1821," page xxix.

Here we have the evidence of one who had the best means of information, in proof of the complete effect of the last and of the imperfection of the two preceding Censuses. In both cases, the apparent per centage increase is nearly the same, and we have the testimony of the same witness that the inaccuracy of the enumerations (whatever it might be) was proportionably equal in both; for he says, (speaking of the baptisms and burials,) "This similarity of result seems to prove, that the enumeration of 1801 was no more defective, as compared with that of 1811, than the enumeration of 1811 is to that of 1821*."

Notwithstanding these admissions, Mr. Rickman still continues to present us with a Table of the imaginary population of England and Wales, for every 10 years during the last century, depending on the supposed accuracy of the Census of 1801. This Table, which is constructed from a comparison of the registered baptisms, rests on three several assumptions; either of which, being groundless, must undermine the whole fabric.

1. The accuracy of the Census of 1801 is taken for granted.

2. It is presumed that the Registers of baptisms (which are acknowledged to be very incomplete)

* Preliminary Observations, p. xxx.

had *at all times* the exact proportion of deficiency which they had in 1801.

And 3. It is assumed, that there subsisted the same relative proportion, between the registered births and the whole population, at every period through the course of the last century.

It were useless to make any comment upon such data, for it is obvious that they warrant no conclusion. But, indeed, no other data could be found from which to infer that large increase of the people, which has become, as it were, a part of the creed of the country. The Registers of burials are documents fatal to this belief; for, though the population of England and Wales is supposed to have increased about 60 per cent. since 1775, those mementos of mortality have all along remained stubbornly stationary. But enough of these fairy Censuses of former times. They would have been perfectly harmless, had not the economists mistaken them for real, and annoyed the nation with their prophecies of the future, gathered from their dreams of the past.

In endeavouring to discover the proportion of increase between the different Censuses, Mr. Rickman, very judiciously, proposes to calculate from the numbers of the females only; by which means we get rid at once of all the irregularity occasioned by the army and navy, as well as by those birds of

passage (being chiefly males) who are perpetually going to and fro between this and other countries. I shall adopt Mr. Rickman's suggestion in the following pages, satisfied that the arguments from the female part will be equally valid for the whole population; for the sexes are, in this case, like the two sides of Hudibras's horse—when one moves forward, the other cannot lag behind.

The following Tables of the female population of Great Britain, in 1811 and 1821, are arranged according to such ages as are most convenient for comparison. The ages for 1811 are proportioned from the returns of 1821, which must be equally applicable to both Censuses; for whatever may have been the increase from 1801 to 1821, it is not doubted that the progression was equable through the whole twenty years, and consequently the *lower ages* could not have a different proportion to the whole, at the points of time in which the two latter enumerations were made.

Female Population of Great Britain in 1811.

	Under 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	Above 20.	In all.
England	717,668	630,196	1,019,346	2,602,788	4,969,998
Wales	44,246	41,012	67,104	167,793	320,155
Scotland	126,747	115,287	206,184	531,279	979,497
Great Britain	888,661	786,495	1,292,634	3,301,860	6,269,650

Female Population of Great Britain in 1821.

	Under 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	Above 20.	In all.
England	834,308	732,620	1,185,018	3,025,812	5,777,758
Wales	50,713	47,006	76,913	192,319	366,951
Scotland	143,621	130,636	233,635	602,012	1,109,904
Great Britain	1,028,642	910,262	1,495,566	3,820,143	7,254,613

The last enumeration having been beyond all doubt the most accurate, I shall take it as my standard measure, for the purpose of ascertaining the deficiencies of the other two.

The females of Great Britain in

1811, were stated to be . . . 6,262,716

Of these there remained alive in 1821

(being the number above 10 in that

Census) 5,315,709

And there appear to have died in the

interval 947,007

being in the proportion of 1 in 6.6 of the original number.

Now it is obvious that, were the stated number of females in 1811 any how increased, the balance would be more; and, consequently, all that had been neglected in that Census, ought (if we could find their amount) to be added to the number of the dead. This addition must be material, otherwise there is no occasion to boast of the superior accuracy of the last Census. Let us suppose, for the sake of illustration, (for otherwise I would not give a farthing for suppositions,) that the deficiency of the returns of 1811 amounted to one-tenth—that is, that, on the average, a town or hundred of 11,000 inhabitants, was numbered only at 10,000. On this supposition, “the corrected po-

pulation" (as Mr. Malthus would call it*) of 1811
would be 6,888,987

And deducting those above 10 in the

Census of 1821 5,315,709

The remainder 1,573,278
would appear to be the number of the dead, being
about 1 in 4.4 of the whole; a proportion which
is still less than what has been found to exist in
other parts of Europe, and, in former times, in our
own island. But was there really a deficiency of
a tenth in the returns of 1811? That I know not.
That there was a material deficiency is acknow-
ledged; but with regard to its amount, I am merely
endeavouring to muster probabilities.

That the proportion of deaths shown by the
Censuses (1 to 6.6) is too small, is certain; because,
in that case, the enumeration of 1811 must have
been complete. If we could find any isolated di-
strict of the country where the returns, at both pe-
riods, included all the inhabitants, we should, bar-

* Malthus on Population, vol. ii. pages 87, 92, &c. The reader
who is curious to see specimens of reasoning, founded *solely* upon
suppositions, assumptions, and *ad libitum* corrections of official
statements, may read the whole of the chapter here referred to, as
well as that on "the Fruitfulness of Marriage," which Mr. M. (in
his character of Edinburgh Reviewer) recommends to the perusal
of Mr. Godwin.

ring any peculiar accidents, have a proportion of the dead, which might be safely extended to the whole. A district, however, thus perfectly separated from every other, is probably not to be found; and we must be contented with approximations. The following counties present results much beyond the general average, and little different from our supposition.

Apparent Decrease of the Number of Individuals (counted in the Census of twelve different Counties of Great Britain in 1811) when returned in the Census of 1821.

Counties.	Females in 1811.	Females in 1821.	Under 10 in 1821.	Above 10 in 1821.	Decrease of old Census.	Proportion of decrease.
Berks	60,917	66,431	17,657	48,774	12,143	1 to 5
Berwick	16,313	17,409	4,415	12,994	3,319	1 to 4.9
Clackmannan	6,295	6,907	1,888	5,019	1,276	1 to 4.9
Haddington	16,932	18,299	4,655	13,644	3,288	1 to 5.1
Hereford	47,669	51,691	13,253	38,438	9,231	1 to 5.1
Peebles	5,089	5,073	1,344	3,729	1,360	1 to 3.7
Perth	71,059	73,017	16,393	56,624	14,435	1 to 4.9
Radnor	10,776	11,193	2,981	8,212	2,564	1 to 4.2
Roxburgh	20,117	21,484	5,579	15,905	4,212	1 to 4.7
Salop	98,456	104,097	28,085	76,012	22,444	1 to 4.3
Selkirk	3,139	3,432	962	2,470	669	1 to 4.6
Stirling	30,429	33,658	8,973	24,685	5,744	1 to 3.5
Total	387,191	412,691	106,185	306,506	80,685	1 to 4.7

Should these twelve counties present a fair specimen of the mortality of the nation, and granting the least deficiency in their Returns for 1811, it would follow, inevitably, that about 1 in 4.4 of these females must have died in the ten years; and, consequently, that about a tenth part of the inhabitants had been left out of the Census of 1811.

Seeing that, according to Mr. Rickman, "the enumeration of 1801 was no more defective, as compared with that of 1811, than the enumeration of 1811 is to that of 1821*," a like comparison of the two preceding Censuses ought to give us results similar to what we have already found:

The females of Great Britain in

1801 were stated to be . . . 5,492,354

Of these there appear to have re-

mained alive in 1811 (being the

number above 10 years) . . . 4,589,441

And the difference 902,913

being 1 in 6 of the original number, appear to have died in the interval. But, following the same train of reasoning as when comparing the two latter Censuses, it will be obvious that more than this proportion did die; and, therefore, in whatever degree the real deaths differ from the proportion of decrease

* Preliminary Observations for 1821, page xxx.

here stated, it must have been owing to a deficiency either in the Enumeration, or in the Returns of 1801. That there were deficiencies in both, there can be no doubt. Shropshire (Salop), which increased so little between 1811 and 1821, figures at the rate of 17 per cent. in the comparative statement between 1801 and 1811; but on examination, we find that, besides other particulars, the parish of Hales-Owen (the far-famed residence of Shenstone), which mustered 6,888 inhabitants in 1811, was overlooked in the enumeration of 1801. The county of Argyll rose 19 per cent.; but it appears that whole islands were neglected. Monmouth is stated to have increased 36 per cent. in those ten years; and he who can believe it has faith sufficient to remove mountains. The following counties, though they all show an increase, are selected because they present nothing of the marvellous. The Table is similar to what has been already given for twelve counties, and need not be more minutely described.

Apparent Decrease of the Females in certain Counties, of the Census of 1801, when enumerated again in 1811.

Counties.	Females in 1801.	Females in 1811.	Under 10 in 1811.	Above 10 in 1811.	Decrease of old Census.	Proportion of Decrease
Anglesea	18,031	19,601	5,322	14,279	3,752	1 to 4.7
Banff	19,740	20,203	4,699	15,504	4,236	1 to 4.6
Berks	56,394	60,917	16,192	44,725	11,669	1 to 4.8
Berwick	16,327	16,313	4,135	12,178	4,149	1 to 3.9
Bute	6,239	6,488	1,535	4,953	1,286	1 to 4.8
Caitness	12,426	12,811	2,857	9,954	2,472	1 to 5
Denbigh	31,105	33,111	9,006	24,105	7,000	1 to 4.4
Haddington	16,096	16,932	4,308	12,624	3,472	1 to 4.6
Hereford	45,236	47,669	12,222	35,447	9,789	1 to 4.6
Inverness	40,491	42,614	11,106	31,508	8,983	1 to 4.5
Kinross	3,609	3,779	881	2,898	711	1 to 5.3
Linlithgow	9,715	10,577	2,319	7,758	1,957	1 to 4.9
Montgomery	25,064	26,558	6,863	19,695	5,369	1 to 4.6
Norfolk	143,529	153,910	41,571	112,339	31,190	1 to 4.6
Northampton	62,340	73,074	19,642	53,432	14,908	1 to 4.5
Orkney, &c.	26,031	26,002	5,554	20,448	5,583	1 to 4.6
Oxford	55,334	60,059	16,198	43,861	11,473	1 to 4.8
Pembroke	30,874	33,162	8,722	24,440	6,434	1 to 4.7
Rutland	8,378	8,449	2,185	6,264	2,114	1 to 3.9
Sutherland	12,692	13,141	3,097	10,044	2,648	1 to 4.7
Westmorland	21,442	23,084	6,143	16,941	4,501	1 to 4.7
Wilts	97,727	102,268	26,815	75,453	22,274	1 to 4.3
York (N. R.)	80,602	84,693	22,384	62,309	18,293	1 to 4.4
Total	845,422	895,615	234,256	661,159	184,263	1 to 4.5

The preceding Table is not confined to a small portion of the country ; for it contains one-seventh of the whole population ; and even allowing the Census of these counties to have been as complete in 1801 as in 1811, it is evident that 1 in 4.5 of the former enumeration had died in the course of 10 years. Now if we take the same rate of mortality for the whole Census,—and I can see no reason to believe that it had been less,—we shall find that the Census of 1801 was 7 per cent. deficient in comparison with that of 1811 : for,

To the Females of 1801 . . .	5,492,354
Add 7 per cent.	384,464

And from the sum	5,876,818
Subtract the living above 10 in 1811	4,589,441

And the remainder (supposed deaths) 1,287,377 is to the thus augmented population of 1801, in the proportion of 1 to 4.5.

If the foregoing calculations are correct,—and I have given them at length along with the data on which they rest, so that they may be verified or contradicted,—it appears that, instead of 14 or 15, our population has been increasing only at the rate of about 6 per cent. in 10 years ; a proportion which would not double their numbers in a century. I do not for my part believe that it has increased

so much, for I am convinced that more than 1 in 4.5 must have died ; but at all events this fall, from 15 to 6 per cent., must be gladdening to the hearts of those who were trembling with the fear of an overwhelming population.

Mr. Rickman endeavours to prove that two thirds at least of the apparent increase in the Censuses is real, which would threaten us with a doubling in 75 years.

“It may be stated,” says he, “that the increase of the population of Great Britain, from 1801 to 1811, was 1,654,000, according to the respective Enumeration Returns; and of this increase 1,277,000 in England and Wales :—the Registered Baptisms are 2,878,906 ; the Registered Burials 1,950,189 ; showing an increase of 928,717 ; so that, even allowing the deficiency of the Baptismal Register not to be greater than of the Burial Register, more than two-thirds of the increase is established upon incontrovertible grounds. Again, in the period between the enumerations of 1811 and 1821, the increase of population in England and Wales appears to have been 1,828,000 ; while a comparison of registered Baptisms and Burials gives an apparent increase of 1,245,000, or rather more than two-thirds of the actual increase*.”

It is plain that this inference rests solely on the *comparative inaccuracy* between the Registers of Baptisms and those of Burials ; for that *both* are

* Preliminary Observations for 1821, page xxx.

inaccurate Mr. Rickman allows, but he has satisfied himself that the deficiencies of the former are greater than those of the latter : this we shall now examine.

The continued sameness of amount in the registers of burials has been already noticed ; and even the act of 1812, which has added so materially to the births, has had little or no effect upon the deaths ; as may be seen from the following comparative view of the amount of the Registered Baptisms, Burials and Marriages in England and Wales, for three periods of ten years each.

Periods.	Baptisms.	Burials.	Marriages.
From 1791 to 1800 inclu.	2,617,760	1,954,695	736,014
From 1801 to 1810	2,878,906	1,950,189	832,091
From 1811 to 1820	3,255,067	2,009,998	910,426
In 30 years	8,751,733	5,914,882	2,478,531

The interested clamour of a powerful faction, who, from their hatred of Poor Rates, are prepared to engage in a war against nature, seems in the present case to have drawn aside the usual judgement of the writer of the Preliminary Observations. Without regard to the spiritual advantages, there are temporal conveniencies, consequent upon the laws of the country, which must induce every prudent father to get the name of his child inserted in

the list of the baptized. It is not so with the burials; for, here, the name alone remains, since the prospects of the being who bore it are, in this life, at an end. The entries then must all depend upon the will of the Registrar, who has no check upon his conduct, nor stimulus to his indolence.—Independent of infidelity, which, like a flood, is overspreading the land, there are numerous and increasing bodies of Dissenters, who look, with other eyes than those of reverence, on the solemn service that is performed over the dead. In the parish churchyards, these services, whether required or not, must be paid for, but the fees are dispensed with in less consecrated ground.—All these and many other causes might be assigned for great deficiencies in the burial registers; but, it seems, it did not suit the mode of reasoning on the Censuses to dwell upon them, so as to grant that the records of the deaths were at least as defective as those of the births. Nevertheless, a stationary number of deaths, with a rapid increase of population, was a phenomenon that required to be accounted for; but instead of suspecting, as might naturally have been done, that the registers were erroneous, a new theory has been started concerning the increased value of human life. Physicians, who had, hitherto, made no progress since the days of Hippocrates, have, all at once, become wiser, and diseases have vanished

without others appearing in their room. This increased longevity is, however, in the utmost degree, fitful and fantastical; for, in some counties, the annual proportion of deaths is nearly double what it is in others, and, that without any apparent cause. That Middlesex should, every year, lose 1 in 47 of its population may be readily allowed, the wonder being that they were so few; but that, with exactly the same proportion of ages, Kent should lose annually a fiftieth of its number, while Anglesea could pay the tribute with only 1 in 83, is truly astonishing. It would thus appear that to work in the open fields is more injurious to health than the labour of the mines; and that the aroma of the hop is more deleterious than the fumes of the smelting furnace.

Throughout the whole of Wales, the average annual proportion of deaths is, as we are told, only 1 in 69 of the population, notwithstanding which the excess of the entered baptisms over the entered burials, between 1811 and 1821, would account for little more than half of the increase in the Census. For

The females in 1821 were stated to be	366,951
The females in 1811	320,155
	<hr/>
Giving an apparent increase of . . .	46,796
And,	

The Registered Baptisms from 1811 to
1820 inclusive were 73,397

The Registered Burials for the same pe-
riod were 49,310

Leaving an excess of 24,087

being very little more than half the increase of the
Census of 1821 above that of 1811.

In Sweden, they generally contrive to make the difference, between the births and deaths, correspond very nearly with the increase, or decrease, of the population, as it appears in each succeeding Census. There, the Registers are kept with surprising regularity; but ours, though we have had the experience of nearly 300 years, have not the most distant right to the title of correct. Both the births and the burials are so enormously deficient, as to preclude them from forming the slightest foundation for accurate reasoning. Let Wales be an example :

The females in the Census of 1811 were 320,155

And the females above 10 years of age

in 1821 were 269,232

Apparent deaths of females between the

Censuses 50,923

Now all the female burials, entered and

unentered, given in the Returns between

1811 and 1821, were 52,960

Leaving only 2,037

for deaths of those that were born between the Censuses. The baptisms of females, entered and unentered, between the Censuses, are stated at 85,197, and of this number, we are to believe that there were only 2,037 deaths. Granting, as was certainly the case, that the Census of 1811 was much below the actual number, the whole amount of the returned burials would not equal the ascertained deaths of the females of 1811, without counting any thing at all on the succeeding births. Such is the result from the Returns of the Burials.

Again,

The entered female Baptisms, between	
1811 and 1821, were	73,397
The unentered female Baptisms, returned	
between 1811 and 1821, were	11,800
	<hr/>
Being altogether	85,197
	<hr/>

Some of these had probably died ; but, notwithstanding, we find, in the Census of 1821, 97,818 female children below 10 years of age ; which, according to the Registers, were 12,621, more than the whole number of baptisms. Surely, no rational consequence can be drawn from such statements.

From a similar comparison, the Registers of England will be found equally worthless with those of Wales :

The entered Baptisms of females through- out England, between 1811 and 1821, were	1,517,113
And the unentered were reckoned to be	101,277
In all	<u>1,618,390</u>
The female children under 10 years of age in the Census of 1821 were . .	1,566,928
And the difference	51,462
appears to be all the deaths out of the 1,618,390, that were born between the Censuses; not one in thirty, a proportion which might please even Mr. Malthus.	

Further,

The females in 1811 were	4,969,998
Of which there were living in 1821 (the number above 10 in that Census) .	<u>4,210,830</u>
The deaths of these females were there- fore	759,168
To which add the deaths of those born between the Censuses, as stated above	<u>51,462</u>
And the sum gives us all the deaths, that took place in these ten years . . .	810,630
But the reported female burials, regis- tered and unregistered, during that period were	<u>992,821</u>
Giving us a surplus of	182,191
burials without corpses, in addition to the deficien-	

cies in the burial Registers. Perhaps these deaths, and as many more as were left out of the Registers, might have been persons forgotten in the Census of 1811;—perhaps more were born, and died in the course of the ten years; perhaps,—any thing, for these foolish documents may be twisted as you please.

Mr. Rickman presumes much upon the probability that the Registers of baptisms are much more deficient than those of burials, which he considers as an additional argument in favour of an extensive increase: but this supposition only adds to the confusion; for it appears, from the following statement, that the excess of the births over the burials is already greater than the actual increase between the Censuses, in one half of the counties of England:

Comparison between the Excess of Baptisms over Burials, and the Increase of the Census, of the Female Population of 1821 beyond that of 1811, in different Counties of England.

Counties.	Females in 1811.	Females in 1821.	Increase in the Census.	Excess of Births over Burials.
Berks	60,917	66,431	5,514	7,559
Derby	93,993	107,460	13,467	12,889
Devon	203,755	230,811	27,056	30,040
Dorset	66,976	75,565	8,589	8,383
Essex	127,634	144,515	16,881	16,867
Hereford	47,669	51,691	4,022	5,460
Huntingdon	21,806	24,751	2,945	3,145
Kent	189,595	216,183	26,588	29,675
Lincoln	120,869	141,488	20,619	20,242
Norfolk	153,910	177,476	23,566	23,130
Nottingham	83,843	95,382	11,539	11,215
Oxford	60,059	68,154	8,095	8,263
Rutland	8,449	9,264	815	1,061
Salop	98,456	104,097	5,641	11,478
Southampton	126,225	144,925	18,700	20,135
Stafford	147,080	169,372	22,292	22,224
Suffolk	122,223	138,132	15,909	17,716
Westmorland	23,084	25,846	2,762	2,600
Wilts	102,268	113,944	11,676	12,020
York (E. Riding)	86,148	97,688	11,540	11,248
York (N. Riding)	34,693	93,228	8,535	10,626
	2,029,652	2,296,403	266,751	285,976

A similar Statement, drawn up from the other counties, would have a very different appearance, and this is the very thing of which I complain; for I can see no reason why one half of the Registers in England should have their *excess of errors* in the Baptisms, and the other half have theirs in the Burials. The fact is, that the Parish Registers, on which so much labour has been bestowed, present, as a whole, nothing but a congregated mass of errors and absurdities. That there may have been a few complete returns, it would be ungenerous to deny; but, in consequence of the plan that has been adopted, of grouping the whole into hundreds and wapentakes, it is not left in our power to separate the accurate from the inaccurate,—the probable from the impossible. I know that this grouping was requisite, if it was wished to contain the returns within certain bounds; but I know also, that the effect is such that we might as well have dispensed with their publication altogether. The following are cases in proof of this assertion.

At page 271 of the Enumeration Abstract for 1821, we find this note:—"The decrease of population in Shrawardine parish is ascribed to a family of nine persons having left the parish, and from an increase of Burials over that of Baptisms." The number returned in 1811 was 201, which, in 1821, was reduced to 177: so that in this small parish in the

course of 10 years, the Deaths must have been 15 more than the Births. This, in a county (Shropshire) where the proportion of Baptisms to Burials is stated as 58 to 35, seems rather strange, and naturally induces us to turn to the Parish Register abstract. There, however, we look in vain; for the register of this unfortunate place is clubbed up with thirteen others, to make up one general return for the hundred of Pimhill. This combined return gives us, for the ten years (1811 to 1820 inclusive), 3405 baptisms and only 1915 burials; so that we are compelled to believe, either that Shrawardine has been visited by some unheard-of calamity, or that its register is a standing satire upon those of all the surrounding parishes.

Another instance, which belongs to the two former Censuses, occurs in the parish of Spalding, county of Lincoln. The registers of this place were kept with the greatest care, and the following is an abstract of Dr. Johnson's information for 14 years from 1798 to 1811 inclusive*.

* See "Milne on Annuities &c." published in 1815.

Deaths in the Parish of Spalding in the 14 years
from 1798 to 1811 inclusive.

Ages.	Males.	Females.	In all.
0 to 1			542
0 to 5	368	307	675
5 to 10	22	35	57
10 to 15	26	20	46
15 to 20	13	19	32
20 to 25	16	19	35
25 to 30	20	30	50
30 to 35	28	33	61
35 to 40	32	40	72
40 to 45	25	29	54
45 to 50	34	23	57
50 to 55	33	26	59
55 to 60	28	31	59
60 to 65	26	28	54
65 to 70	20	42	62
70 to 75	25	26	51
75 to 80	14	32	46
80 to 85	13	21	34
85 to 90	5	8	13
90 to 95	1	0	1
95 to 100	0	1	1
0 to 100	749	770	1519

The registered Baptisms in the same 14 years were 1563. Dr. Johnson considered the return to be short 10 or 12 annually, and the deaths to be short rather more; so that the annual average of Births might be about 121, and the Deaths the same. This account is wholly extracted from Mr. Milne's work; for the Parish Register abstracts give us no information on the subject. In them the Baptisms and Burials of Spalding, along with those of 15 or 16 other places, make up one general return for the Wapentake of Elloe, which, in the whole 14 years, shows 9806 births and 8332 deaths. The increase in the different Censuses, however, appears to arise from some cause that is independent of the excess of the births over the burials; for, although these were exactly equal, the parish of Spalding, which showed only 3296 inhabitants in 1801, counted 4330 in 1811; and the whole Wapentake, with 7238 Baptisms and 6326 Burials, rose from 17,905 to 20,320, in the same period. Between 1811 and 1821, this Wapentake presented a new appearance. Its population was augmented to 25,113, while the Register of Baptisms amounted to 9806 and that of Burials only to 5180; thus showing that even the fens of Lincolnshire had been allowed to pass under the new tariff of death.

Analogy is often deceitful; but I must here remark that the proportions of Births and Deaths, ex-

hibited by Mr. Rickman, are unlike those that have hitherto been seen in our own, or that exist, at present, in any other country. France and Sweden present fixed points of comparison.

	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Annual proportion of Births.	Annual proportion of Deaths.
England in 1821	11,486,700	330,722	199,867	1 to 35	1 to 57
Wales in 1821	731,800	17,850	10,635	1 to 41	1 to 69
France—Births & deaths in 1819, and Population in 1821*	30,465,291	990,023	785,338	1 to 31	1 to 39
Sweden—Average of 1816, 1817 and 1818	2,515,113	83,393	59,611	1 to 30	1 to 42

Were we to draw any inference from this Table, it would be that our Burial Registers are much more deficient than those of Baptisms: but I am contented that no inference should be drawn, for I need no further evidence. Though it made no material difference, Mr. Rickman should not, perhaps, have added the army to the number of the population before calculating his ratio of mortality. The deaths of the defenders of our country, are often left unrecorded in our Parish Registers. The laurel of the conqueror is an exotic plant. It grows on foreign graves and is nurtured by the blood of the slain.

That the proportion between the Births and Deaths, attributed to this country in the foregoing

* Annuaire Historique Universel pour 1821, page 599.

Table, must be erroneous, will be obvious to every unbiassed man ; but it will be more readily granted by others when they find that it is useless for their purpose. Were it true that the annual Births in the county of Pembroke were one forty-seventh and the Deaths only one eighty-third part of the population, and that, throughout Wales, the proportions were, respectively, one in forty-one and one in sixty-nine, they would belong to that class of truths which is termed miraculous, and would require stronger evidence than is usually to be found : but, miracles though they be, they would give no additional support to the system ; for the more probable proportions of Sweden show an equal ratio of increase, a duplication in something more than seventy years.

Much has been said about the increased value of life. Every change in this respect must have an effect upon the arrangement of the population into ages, and could have been particularly pointed out had we had a succession of Censuses, taken in the manner of the last. The devoted legions are always more closely marshalled at those points where they are destined to meet the enemy. In this view, we see no marked peculiarity in our Census ; but we are told, in answer, that the veterans have passed through more dangerous times, and that our successful contest against death has but just begun.

Were we warranted to draw any conclusion from

a single distribution of ages, it would seem that the deaths from 5 to 10 years are rather fewer now than formerly, and that the Deaths between 10 and 20 have increased. Of the difference between the born and the number living below 5 years, we can have no knowledge; because, from what has been shown, it is evident that we are completely ignorant of the amount of the Births; neither have we any general statement of the ages of the dead. If these apparent variations in the value of the lives of young persons be real, they may, in a great degree, be accounted for from the lessened deadliness of the small-pox on the one side, and from the more extended underminings of consumption on the other*. Man, considered as an animal, is difficult to rear. The female has to pass twenty years of her life before producing her kind; and, hitherto, it has been nearly an equal chance, whether she should die before, or survive, that epoch of her existence. The epidemics of childhood are the storms of spring. They thin the crop; but their ravages are chiefly fatal to those weakly plants which would, otherwise, have been found blasted in the summer, or blighted in the harvest.

As long as children are born with stamina of un-

* It is said that this disease destroys about 1 in 6 of all who die in this country. See Rees's Cyclopaedia, Article HEALTH.

equal strength, they will, under similar circumstances, die, at different ages; and so long, the pitfalls in the journey of life will be distributed throughout the whole of its course: nor have we ever yet seen, that the order of distribution has been, at any time, remarkably changed. The duration of the pilgrimage, too, appears to be invariably the same; for we have heard of no improvement, in this respect, since the days of Methuselah. Every human being, from the moment of his birth, carries, in his bosom, his sentence of death. An hour is fixed, by the construction of his frame, beyond which his life cannot be protracted; and it is for him, if he know how, to take care that the period of his doom shall not be anticipated, by his own folly, or by the unseen dangers that surround him. But there is no hope of final escape. Whether he fly to seek renovated health from the mountain breeze, or trust, at home, to the wizard spell of the physician, Death, the sworn enemy of the Geometrical Ratio, will not be cheated of a single victim.

From these considerations, it is very improbable that the arrangement of ages, in any future Census, will be such as to render the proportion of deaths to the whole community different, in any material degree, from what it has ever been. The experience of the past shows that, generally, about a fourth,—never so few as a fifth,—of a present existing po-

pulation, must die in ten years ; and the *excess* of children under 10 years of age (above the number of deaths of the old population) that shall then be found, is all the *increase* that we have either to hope for or to fear. We have seen that Mr. Rickman's endeavour to prove, from the Registers, an increase of 10 per cent. between the different Censuses, has entirely failed ; and it, therefore, follows, from the reasonings in the former part of this Examination, that 6 per cent. is the utmost probable increase since 1811 : a rate which, even allowing (what never before happened for such a length of time) that it were to go on unchecked, would not double the population in less than 100 years.

Is this, then, a state of things that calls for legislative enactments to prevent procreation ? Would it benefit those, who are born to consume the fruits of the earth, to lessen the number that cultivate the soil ? Would he, who is already rich, be richer if there were fewer poor men to administer to his pleasures ? Edwards, in his History of the West Indies, when taking an account of the property or capital of Jamaica, reckons 12,500,000*l.* sterling, as the value of 250,000 Negroes, at 50*l.* a head. He was right : labour is the only foundation of capital ; but it resides in the man,—not in his master. It remained in St. Domingo after the Whites were no more. Call the drones of the hive *Capi-*

talists, if you please, but they would still be the idle spectators of the working bees. These are no disorganizing principles. That the mass must continue to have superintendants, or masters, I know : but those masters may not always be inclined to sport with the feelings of the men over whom they rule. The laws that are contemplated to stop the progress of population are not yet passed ; and, therefore, it is not treason to hold them up to execration. Shall two, or three, writers of books, on what is termed Political Economy,—whose slang phrases about “ capital,” “ value,” “ demand for labour,” &c. no untutored reader can understand, and who, as is evident from their squabbles, do not understand one another ;—shall these delude the legislators of the nation, by persuading them that the population is too numerous, while the farmer is ruined and his corn lies rotting in the granaries ? These men boast, forsooth, of having discovered “ the nature of Rent ;” but it is a discovery like that of the antiquarian, for it is made at the moment when the object is sinking into oblivion.

That every person, born in this country, has a “ right to subsistence,” is not only the popular belief, but it is also the law of the land. Call it a prejudice, if you will ; but there are few prejudices so useful to society. Patriotism has, hitherto, been reckoned a virtue ; but what is patriotism without

a home ? It, also, may be termed a prejudice ; for it is imbibed in our early years, and flows in the warm current of youthful blood, before that blood has been chilled by the frigid precepts of a selfish philosophy : but if this love of country were eradicated from the breasts of the poor, the land would become an easy prey to the first invader, and the rich patriot would soon cease to be the lord of the soil. I acknowledge, that to see men, who are able and willing to labour, reluctantly living as pensioners on the Poor Rates, is disgraceful to the nation,—and I believe that those Rates are sometimes oppressive in their collection, and partial in their distribution : but, certainly, it would require no extraordinary genius to find out a remedy for these evils, without attempting to introduce a despotism, such as has never been before heard of in any age or country.

“ But there is no *demand* for the labour of such a multitude.” Then let them labour less. If our produce be so abundant, and require so few workmen, why should not the little that is to do be more equally divided, so that there may be more of leisure and less of idleness ? Were mothers allowed to remain at home, to manage the affairs of their little households ; and were children sent to school, instead of being imprisoned within the noisy and corrupting walls of a cotton-mill we

should soon see an advance in the price of labour. Twenty years of war, which employed so great a proportion of the male population in overturning the new Governments of foreign nations, ought not to make us forget the old habits and institutions of our own. With the aid of machinery, the place of our absent warriors was supplied by infant hands, which, in better times, were not accustomed to work ; and now that the war-wages are withdrawn, and the fathers have returned to their families, a large proportion of the labourers must be fed from funds, that ought to have been appropriated solely to age and infirmity. But, if we are too ignorant, or too indolent, to ameliorate this state of things, we ought not, therefore, to deny to the people the natural rights of men. This would be too much in the manner of the Jamaica Planter, who, when the Maroons were conquered, cared no longer about the dogs of Cuba.

That the number of the people *could* be arbitrarily limited to “the demand for labour,” is to be credited and hoped only by those who have brains of lead and hearts of iron. However much the flame may be repressed by chill penury, man, even in the lowest situation of life, still preserves a portion of the Promethean fire which animates his clay. The general will may, or may not, be the firmest foundation of a Government ; but, assuredly,

no Government could long exist in *opposition* to the general will. "The man is poor, and ought not to marry;"—But he will do so, and perhaps think of the knotty question,—Why, in a country where food is abundant, the labourer should be so poor? "His children shall not come upon our Poor Rates." Then you must dissolve your Mendicity Societies, and repeal your statutes against Beggary. The truth is, the proposal may irritate; but the execution of the project would be found impossible. The mad-brained attempt could serve no other purpose than to raise the standard of insurrection.

CENSUS OF IRELAND.

THE amount of the population of Ireland has always been, until very lately, a subject of mere conjecture. The first Act, passed for the purpose of ascertaining the number of inhabitants, was ineffectual, on account of some neglect, or informality, with respect to its delegated powers, and ended in the abortive attempt of 1813. Another Act was passed in 1815 ; and ever since, the officers, to whose care it was committed, have been busy in carrying its intentions into execution. The superintendent of these proceedings (William Shaw Mason, Esq. of the Record Tower, Dublin Castle) made a " Preliminary Report " of Progress, about the close of last year, a single page of which was printed, by order of the House of Commons, in February last. Being denominated a " Royal Statistical Survey," it may be doubtful whether or not (when completed) it can properly come under the cognizance of the Lower House : but, be that as it may, those Newspaper editors, who had been deluded by the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, were not slow in republishing this *stray-leaf*, for the purpose of showing, that Ireland (above all others, the land of vice and misery) exhibited, to the utmost extent, the power of the Geometrical Ratio ! The following is the substance of the printed page alluded to :

Population of Ireland in 1813 and 1821.

	No.	Counties.	Inhabitants in 1813.	Inhabitants in 1821.	Increase since 1813.
LEINSTER	1	Carlow	69,566	81,287	11,721
	2	Drogheda Town	16,123	18,118	1,995
	3	Dublin County	110,437 ^d	160,274	49,837
	4	Dublin City	176,610	186,276	9,666
	5	Kildare	85,133	101,715	16,582
	6	Kilkenny County	134,664	157,096	22,432
	7	Kilkenny City	no return	22,230	
	8	King's County	113,226	132,319	19,093
	9	Longford	95,917	107,702	11,785
	10	Louth	no return	101,070	
	11	Meath	142,479	174,716	32,237
	12	Queen's County	113,857	129,391	15,534
	13	Westmeath	no return	128,042	
	14	Wexford	no return	169,304	
	15	Wicklow	83,109	115,162	32,053
MUNSTER	16	Clare	160,603	209,595	48,992
	17	Cork County	523,936	702,000	178,064
	18	Cork City	64,394 ^d	100,535	36,141
	19	Kerry	178,622	205,037	26,415
	20	Limerick County	103,865 ^d	214,286	110,421
	21	Limerick City	no return	66,042	
	22	Tipperary	290,531	353,402	62,871
	23	Waterford County	119,457	127,679	8,222
	24	Waterford City	25,467	26,787	1,320
ULSTER	25	Antrim	231,548	261,601	30,053
	26	Armagh	121,449 ^d	196,577	75,128
	27	Carrickfergus Town	6,136	8,255	2,119
	28	Cavan	no return	194,330	
	29	Donegal	no return	249,483	
	30	Down	287,290	329,348	42,058
	31	Fermanagh	111,250	130,399	19,149
	32	Londonderry	186,181	194,099	7,918
	33	Monaghan	140,433	178,183	37,750
	34	Tyrone	250,746	259,691	8,945
CONNAUGHT	35	Galway County	140,995 ^d	286,921	145,926
	36	Galway Town	24,684	27,827	3,143
	37	Leitrim	94,095	105,976	11,881
	38	Mayo	237,371	297,538	60,167
	39	Roscommon	153,110	207,777	49,667
	40	Sligo	no return	127,879	

Summary of the Population of Ireland in 1821.*

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
LEINSTER	284,673	1,785,702
MUNSTER		2,005,363
ULSTER		2,001,966
CONNAUGHT	191,267	1,053,918
Total		6,846,949

The letter (*d*), in the column for 1813, denotes a deficiency of some of the Returns of the counties to which it is annexed. It is said, that there is also a deficiency in the Returns for 1821, which, when completed, will, it is supposed, raise the Census to upwards of seven millions.

The comparison of the enumerations of 1813 and 1821, shows an enormous increase. Setting aside the few counties of which no account had been taken in the former Census, it appears that a population of 4,598,284 had, in that short period, swelled to 5,787,569. They had, thus, in eight years, added 1,189,285 (above a fourth) to their amount; a number, which, as will be speedily shown, must have been equal to that of all the births in the interval!

I shall, probably, be reminded that the Returns of 1813, were, in some of the counties, deficient. This deficiency, however, Mr. Mason must have reckoned of no importance, otherwise he would not have brought the sums into comparison by writing, as he has done, the increase upon each: unless, indeed, he meant to hoax the disciples of Mr. Malthus; for these gentlemen really believe,

that the inhabitants of the counties of Limerick and Galway doubled their numbers in less than eight years. It may be remarked, too, that there is no hint of these deficiencies, in the Abstract printed by order of the House of Commons. But, even, independently of this chance of withheld Returns, the increase appears immense: in the four counties of Wicklow, Clare, Cork, and Roscommon, where the Returns were complete, 925,758, the population in 1813, became 1,234,534 in 1821, thus adding a third to their number,—much more than all that were born. To increase beyond the number of the Births, without foreign aid, and at the same time to send out emigrants to every quarter of the globe, would be astonishing in any other country; but Ireland is the land of miracles!

According to the Report (from which the preceding Abstract of the Census is extracted) Mr. Mason appears to have gone about the business with all due caution and solemnity. The execution of the proceedings, in the different counties, having been entrusted, by the Act, to the assistant Barrister and Bench of Magistrates, his first care was to inspect the list of Magistrates so as he might discover the names of those who “were from *death*, absence, or other causes, ineffective towards the superintendence of the county business*.” In con-

* Report, page 5.

sequence, a correct list of the Magistracy of Ireland, in 1820, was made out, and forms the first of the four Appendixes which are subjoined to this Report. "The Magistrates of Ireland, exclusive of the Counties of Cities and Counties of Towns, which are each under a peculiar Jurisdiction," are in number 4537; and of these, it seems, 609 are *dead*; 1547 non-resident; 183 resident, but not acting; 266 acting, though not resident; and 1932 both resident and acting.

The first duty of the Magistrates was to make a Return of the names of persons qualified to take the account of the population: and here, also, the care of the Superintendent is visible. In order to ascertain whether the persons selected possessed the necessary local information, a printed form was transmitted to the Enumerator of every district, that he might fill its columns, under their different heads. The information thereby procured is printed in the second Appendix, under the title of "The Enumerator's Qualification Returns." This Table contains some useful information. It shows that if the people be superstitious and ignorant, it is neither from the paucity of clergymen nor of schoolmasters. The particulars are given for every Barony and City Parish. The following is a general summary:

	Parish.	Parts of Parish.	Town- lands.	Resident Clergy.				School- masters
				Esa- blish.	Rom. Cath.	Pres- byter.	Other Diss.	
LEINSTER ..	775	157	9,167	642	688	12	13	2,163
MUNSTER ..	611	143	11,532 $\frac{1}{2}$	463	685	9	20	2,117
ULSTER ...	271	144	11,931	440	319	216	114	2,479
CONNAUGHT	250	103	10,078	157	367	3	3	1,223
Total	1,907	547	16,008 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,702	2,009	240	150	7,982

The third Appendix is the Population Return already given ; but the fourth and last, is the cherished Result of all Mr. Mason's anxious labours. It is a portion of that grand Work, which is to carry down his name to the latest posterity. The plan adopted for the execution of the Irish Census was much more extended than that of this country. "The persons employed in Ireland were required to give the *Name, Age, Relationship, and Occupation* of every individual ; and also, (besides the Houses,) the number of Acres held by every Landholder in his respective Townland." To ascertain the practicability of procuring these and a number of other particulars, an experiment was made, in 1819, upon a single Barony, the result of which constitutes this Appendix. It is entitled a "Survey, Valuation, and Census of the Barony of Portneinch, compiled in the year 1819 by Wm. Shaw Mason, Esq., M.R.I.A., Remembrancer and Receiver of First Fruits and Secretary to the Board of Public Records ; also Author of the Statistical Account of Ireland, and now superintending the Pro-

ceedings upon the Population Act." A copy of this Survey, Mr. Mason says, was submitted to the King, on His Majesty's late visit to Ireland, and graciously received. This man of many offices, if he do not mean to flatter, must be highly enamoured of his undertaking, for he introduces it with this splendid urn-shaped Dedication, expanded over a folio page :

THE FOLLOWING SURVEY OF A BARONY,
INTENDED AS A MODEL FOR
A ROYAL STATISTICAL SURVEY OF
IRELAND,
AND DESIGNED, LIKE DOOMSDAY BOOK,
BY A MINUTE ENQUIRY INTO
THE CAPABILITIES AND RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY,
TO LAY THE FOUNDATION OF ITS
PERMANENT PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS;
THUS HANDING DOWN TO FUTURE AGES,
A RECORD OF WISDOM AND BENEFICENCE IN AN
ENLIGHTENED AND BELOVED MONARCH,
ON HIS FIRST APPROACH TO ITS SHORES TO RECEIVE
THE GREETINGS OF A LOYAL AND AFFECTIONATE PEOPLE,
IS MOST HUMBLY SUBMITTED
TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
BY HIS DEVOTED AND FAITHFUL
SUBJECT AND SERVANT,
W. S. M.

RECORD TOWER,

DUBLIN CASTLE;

AUGUST, 1821.

The Barony of Portneinch, Queen's County, consists of two parishes (with their 53 Townlands, which are each minutely described), and contains a population of 12,374 Souls, according to the following Summary. No. 1 is the parish of Lea, and No. 2 that of Colbanagher.

No.	AGES.					SEX.		RELIGION.		Total of Souls.
	Under 8	8 to 16	16 to 45	45 to 60	Above 60	Males.	Females	Protes- tants.	Catho- lics.	
1	1093	1471	2754	606	449	3268	3134	1093	5309	6402
2	1238	1260	2500	508	466	3034	2938	1049	4923	5972
In all	2331	2731	5254	1114	915	6302	6072	2142	10232	12374

Here the number below 8 years of age, is little more than a sixth of the whole population, which sufficiently justifies the remark which was made, when speaking of the Births between the Censuses. The division of ages adopted by Mr. Mason, though uncommon, was not taken at random: but in consequence, it may be supposed, of his intimate knowledge of human nature. The several periods of life are thus characterized by that Gentleman. I hope that the last is peculiar to his country:

Age of Infancy Under 8 years.

—— Education Between 8 and 16.

—— Labour Between 16 and 45.

—— Superintendence . Between 45 and 60.

—— Imbecility At 60 and upwards.

In the enumerations of the inhabitants of other countries, we universally find that, including equal periods of years, the numbers in the higher ages are less than in the lower, and more particularly so, if the society be on the increase; but in this "Model of a Census" the case is different. Here the number between 8 and 16 (2731) is a sixth part more than (2331) the number under 8 years. If the Society was increasing, it is not probable that a Census, taken 8 years sooner, would have given the population under 8 higher than in this Table: and, even allowing that none had died, whence did the additional 400 spring? This may be the Irish manner of propagating, but it is unknown in any other part of the world.

The reader will, probably, have observed another peculiarity in the Census of which we speak:—the numbers, at the different ages, when summed up, do not agree with the "total of souls." I thought, at first, that the word "souls" (for which, by the bye, Mr. Rickman, very irreverently, uses the term "persons,") might, like his "imbecility," have a meaning, in Mr. Mason's vocabulary, different from what it has in ordinary English; and this idea was strengthened by seeing that the columns of religion were interjected between the ages of the population and the totals. On further examination, however, I found that this discrepancy was owing to the ac-

cumulation of six several errors, in the additions of as many different Townships; but though the amount of the population was thus increased beyond the reality, in six different Townships, the Enumerator seems to have had no difficulty in *accurately* subdividing his false amounts, between the two sexes and the two religions. The ease with which he has accomplished his apportionments looks very like *guess-work*:—but all these things are trifles in a “Royal Census.”

The other Statistics of this Barony are given with much detail and extreme minuteness. The *names* of the individuals were required in the Census, but are not here annexed. It is to be hoped that they will all be printed in the great work, as it will only add two or three more folio volumes to the half dozen of which, according to this specimen, it must consist, and, in addition to its present interest, will be a treasure to the future antiquarian. The following is a list of the “occupations and professions” followed in this Barony :

Farmers and Labourers . . . 2,260	Coopers . . . 14	Servants . . . 191
Weavers . . . 365	Smiths and Nailors . . . 62	Gardeners . . . 20
Spinners . . . 20	Saddlers and Harness-makers . . 9	Inn-keepers and Publicans . . . 19
Woolcombers . . 6	Shoe-and Brogue-makers . . . 64	Skinners and Tanners . . . 5
Masons 34	Tailors 36	Clergymen . . . 3
Slaters 9	Mantua-makers 13	Physician . . . 1
Carpenters and Wheelwrights 53	Teachers . . . 14	Apothecaries . . 5
Sawyers 3		Attorney 1

Revenue officers 4	Glaziers 2	Clerks 2
Shopkeepers 20	Dyer 1	Apprentices 3
Watchmakers 2	Hatter 1	Bailiffs 4
Bakers 6	Turner 1	Pensioners 6
Chandlers 4	Miller 1	Dancing Master 1
Confectioner 1	Paviour 1	Tinkers 2
Painter 1	Auctioneer 1	Bonnet-makers 5

An Englishman would not have expected to find "pensioners" in the list of "professions and occupations;" but we, in this country, know nothing of Ireland. There are no other resident gentry in these Parishes.

This Barony possesses all the requisites which are understood to ensure a rapid increase of Population. There are no unhealthy occupations, and the far greater proportion of the Inhabitants are cultivators of the soil. There are 16,000 acres of arable and meadow land, (besides mountain, woods, and bogs,) divided into 1187 farms; more than 1000 of which are under 20 acres. The rents, too, are low; for Mr. Mason assures us that the land is let at three-fourths of its real value, averaging 27 shillings per acre in place of thirty-six. There are 2206 families, and exactly the same number of houses; so that the average, living in one house, is only between 5 and 6 persons. "The grand canal passes through the Parish of Lea, for the space of three miles;" and Portarlinton, the only town in that Parish, "enjoys the privilege of sending one member to the Imperial Parliament," besides having been, ever since the revocation of the Edict of

Nantz, "remarkable as a seat of elementary education." This, altogether, is the description of a terrestrial paradise; and yet, notwithstanding these high advantages, the progress of population, in this Barony, would not double its number in a hundred years. They were rated in 1813 at 11,904, and, in 1819, they were 12,374, only giving, according to Mr. Mason, "an increase of 470 souls in 6 years." The comparison of the number of children under eight with those between 8 and 16, if not allowed to be miraculous, can be accounted for only upon the supposition, that some Radical Economist has been lecturing at Portarlinton on the subject of procreation, and has succeeded in organizing a conspiracy to raise the wages by lessening the supply of the labourers*. How they contrive to communicate the information without wounding "female delicacy," I know not; but either Mr. Malthus's Theory of Increase is all a humbug, or the enlightened parishioners of Lea and Coolbanagher have got possession of the new secret process for preventing procreation.

I have now described, with some minuteness, all that is yet published of this first Census of Ireland; but another enumeration must be made, at the distance of eight years from the present, before any thing can be known of the progress of the popula-

* Vide Place on Population, pages 164 and 165.

tion. The attempt of 1813 was a complete failure, and all before was mere conjecture. Guesses, with respect to the number of the inhabitants of a nation, are generally very different from the fact; but, made at times when there is no opportunity of verification or contradiction, they pass to posterity as matters of history. A work of no mean character gives the following account of Anglesey in Wales :

“ The first aspect of this island at a distance is barren, rugged, and full of rocky eminences. The chief town is Beaumaris. Although the country be not absolutely barren, it bears the appearance of *poverty of soil and scarcity of inhabitants*; there are few villages in it, and most of the houses indicate the occupiers*.”

Such was the belief of the time ; and yet the volume had scarcely issued from the press, when the Census of 1801 announced that this barren island was, in proportion to its extent, not less populous than the variegated county of Devon.

But it is not always that we find the inhabitants to be more numerous than the previous estimate; for many states have assuredly declined. Portugal, which is said to have contained four millions in the reign of Emanuel the Great, can now muster little more than three. Professor Crome, in his work, “ Ueber die Grösse und Bevölkerung der europäischen Staaten,” published in 1794, laments over

* Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. ii. Article *Anglesey*.

the depopulation of Spain, which, he says, contained 30 millions of inhabitants in the eighth century, previous to the expulsion of the Moors. The principles of the modern Economist would lead him to rejoice rather than be sorry at this diminution of the people; but, unfortunately for the success of his system, it is at variance with the deep-rooted feelings of human nature. Even were it praiseworthy, it would not be praised, to exert the energy of a Government in an attempt to keep down the Population of a country. We have found men capable of making such a cold-blooded proposition; but we shall never find an Historian to promise them renown. The names of Ferdinand and Isabella are mentioned with abhorrence, because they lessened the numbers of their nation, by converting it into a land of Monks and Nuns. The towers of Alhambra, like the Pyramids of Egypt and of Mexico, are melancholy mementos of a diminished population, such as a generous mind does not love to contemplate. Bats and Vampires have been shunned in all ages; and, even in the Bird of Wisdom, it is not her most amiable quality that she loves to dwell among ruins.

THE END.

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